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# Latin America Report

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19 July 1982

## LATIN AMERICA REPORT

No. 2539

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CUBANS ARRIVE IN JAMAICA IN HIJACKED FISHING BOAT

FLO31821 Bridgetown CANA in English 1815 GMT 3 Jul 82

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, 3 July, CANA--A group of about 30 Cubans arrived in Jamaica's north coast city of Montego Bay yesterday in a hijacked fishing boat, saying that they wanted political refugee status and help from the government in acquiring visas to enter the United States.

A spokesman for the group said that on Thursday, using toy guns, four of them held up the shrimping vessel in Cuba's Oriente Province and ordered the crew to sail to Jamaica.

Two of the four crew members have decided to join the group seeking asylum, the DAILY NEWS reported.

The group is in police custody, and according to the DAILY GLEANER, has been guaranteed food by Montego Bay hotelier, Godfrey Dyer.

The Edward Seaga government here is strongly anti-communist and late last year broke diplomatic relations with Havana, claiming that Cuba was giving refuge to Jamaican criminals and training them in guerrilla warfare. Cuba said the charges were absurd.

Neither the Foreign Ministry nor the Ministry of National Security and Justice, which has responsibility for immigration matters, have so far commented on the position of the Cubans.

It is expected, however, that the matter will be discussed during Monday's regular cabinet meeting.

Last year several hundred Cubans came to Jamaica and were promised by Honduras that they would be provided with Honduran visas here, so that they could wait in Tegucigalpa until they were processed for entry to the U.S.A.

However, only a fraction of the Cubans received either visas to Honduras or to the United States, and scores remained stranded here.

CSO: 3025/1119

COUNTRY SECTION

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

MEXICAN COOPERATION WITH NICARAGUA--Managua, 30 Jun (NOTIMEX)--Mexico's deputy secretary for environmental protection, Manuel Lopez Portillo, returned home today following the signing of a cooperation agreement with Nicaragua. Lopez Portillo reported that Mexican experts will cooperate with Nicaragua to clean up Lake Xolotlan [Lake Managua], which is heavily polluted. [FL010045 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2326 GMT 30 Jun 82]

CSO: 3010/1853



## ILLIA, POLITICAL LEADERS ON MAKEUP OF NEXT GOVERNMENT

Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 21 May 82 p 4

[Text] In a clear allusion to a political party, the former president of the nation, Arturo Illia, stated that he is not thinking "of a coalition cabinet or anything of that kind, but rather of a great civilian force" to head the next civilian government.

Concerning the undeclared war with Great Britain, he expressed the opinion that "after the first skirmishes, statesmen should have been called together to make peace."

Regarding the scheduling of the plenary session of his party's National Committee, he stated that "it is impossible to maintain the status quo" and that "discussions must be held" while giving appropriate consideration to the present circumstances.

When asked whether he believed that the Multipartidaria could be the civilian organization that could lead the next nonmilitary government, Illia replied that "it can help, but it has to be a great civilian force."

In exclusive statements made to Argentine News [NA], the former chief executive said that "we must all help, the church, the armed forces, but there has to be one direction, like what has happened in every part of the world."

"Those who took charge in the postwar era," he added, "were the large civilian organizations. Who took control in Italy? The Christian Democratic Party. In France? De Gaulle."

#### The Right Time

Referring to the repercussions affecting the possible scheduling of a plenary session of the National Committee of the Radical Civic Union [UCR], Illia said that "this scandal which has broken out is ridiculous."

"It is part of the normal process of radicalism," he affirmed, "to call together its leaders to debate and exchange views."

"What is happening is that some people think it is possible to maintain the status quo, but debates must be held," he said.

"Do you think that this is not the time to hold discussions?," he was asked.

"No," he replied, "on the contrary, this is the time."

"It is necessary to prepare the party," he emphasized, "first of all, to act at this time and then to act later, and to be a sufficiently responsible civilian force to make a constructive contribution to the nation."

"I consider it more important to solve basic problems," he said during another part of the conversation, "such as the instability which we have had for 50 years, than to solve immediate problems such as economic difficulties."

#### Anarchic Situation

"This problem has led us into an anarchic situation," he continued, "and I believe that it must be resolved by whoever will be in charge of rebuilding the immediate future."

"My proposal is that we utilize the immediate application of the National Constitution as a factor of domestic integration and Latin American unity as a factor of continental integration to obtain peace," Illia said.

The former president acknowledged that he had explained these positions to the chairman of the UCR National Committee, Carlos Contin, during a meeting held yesterday.

"All these issues must be discussed calmly during the party's plenary session," he emphasized.

Illia refrained from commenting on the results of the last 6 years of military government.

"I do not want to get into that," he said, "because at this time the Argentine people are engaged in defending their inalienable rights."

#### Transition Government

Nor did he wish to discuss the possibility of a civilian transition government being set up in the postwar period.

"We can't talk about the postwar period," he said, "when we are still at war .... I also prefer to talk about a government of reaffirmation."

"What I am thinking about," Illia added, "is the consequences of the war, which is my duty as a political leader. Those who are conducting the war must express their opinions."

"I believe that after the first skirmishes," he continued, "statesmen should have been called together to make peace."

"Any analysis which we can make concerns a result which may be favorable or unfavorable militarily," he continued.

"I would say," he added, "that Argentina has already won respect for its cause, but regarding the prospect of an unfavorable outcome, an analysis which should not be the most important thing, I think that it is not a question of repairing the damage of the war, such as the economic damage, but rather the awareness of Argentines."

#### The Malvinas

Concerning the recovery of the Malvinas Islands, the former president recalled that during his administration UN Resolution 2065 was approved, by which the archipelago was included among the territories to be decolonized.

"Our beloved Zavala Ortiz toured America," he noted, "and gathered support. Then, with the invaluable help of Bonifacio del Carril and Jose Maria Ruda, we presented our case to the United Nations."

Relating the history of the position which radicalism has maintained in the institutional setting, he pointed out that "the University Reform of '18 spread from here the idea of Latin American unity."

Going back in time, he noted that during World War I Yrigoyen maintained "a very firm position of neutrality."

"In spite of the friends whom England had in Argentina," he said, "because Yrigoyen knew that that war between empires in the North Atlantic had nothing to do with our interests."

"Then came the assembly of the League of Nations," he added, "and Ambassador Pueyrredon demanded respect for those who were defeated and we withdrew from that international forum."

"Later on," he continued his account, "when the United States invaded Santo Domingo in 1911, we radicals gave the order to recognize that nation's flag, which had been sullied by the colonial powers at that time."

Illia also recalled that in 1894 or 1894, when the first pan-American assembly was held, there was a desire to establish some kind of leadership with respect to Latin America.

"Even at that time," Illia affirmed, "the United States was really concerned very little about the political problems of American peoples and was more interested in economic philosophy." (NA)

#### Alfonsin Proposes Civilian Transition Government

Radical leader Raul Alfonsin yesterday endorsed his proposal for a civilian government of transition to democracy as an alternative to a factional clash within the military process, once the Malvinas conflict is settled.

Alfonsin said that he believed that former president Arturo Illia could be the right person to be in charge during that period, while also supporting those radicals favoring him as future head of the group.

According to the radical leader, in the aftermath of the recovery of the Malvinas, there may emerge two factions with opposite ideas about the country's political future and neither of them would be suitable, he said.

Alfonsin predicted the emergence of a faction which he described as resistant to change, or "spoilsport," which could even encourage the formation of a coalition cabinet and present a democratic facade.

In contrast to this, he also believes it is possible for another faction with a more nationalistic tenor to emerge, one dedicated to making changes in economic conditions and improving Argentina's position in the world, but a faction which he described as having autocratic tendencies.

As an alternative to a possible clash of such factions, he suggested the establishment of a civilian transition government headed by someone with an exemplary reputation, respected by the citizenry, having the confidence of all sectors and whose age would not make him suspect of building his own political career.

Alfonsin said that in his opinion, Dr Illia fully met those requirements, but he did not rule out the possibility of other political groups proposing different individuals.

The radical leader also believed that his proposal would be well received by the armed forces, "who will understand that the people have earned the right to participation and that democratization is therefore necessary."

#### In Radicalism

Concerning the UCR's situation, Alfonsin rejected accusations that the request for a plenary session of the National Committee, made by various leaders, was inappropriate.

He explained that many radical leaders believed that it was necessary to establish a national board of directors, which only the plenary session of the National Committee is authorized to do and whose assembly has been requested.

He affirmed that it was not a matter of raising questions about party members or leaders, but of meeting the requirement of forming the board, since only Carlos Contin, currently deputy chairman, was acting head of the party.

He also rejected the possibility that the proposal of Arturo Illia becoming leader of the radical party would lead to splits within the group and said that the former president would galvanize the party beyond factionalism in the face of the definite pressure that would be imposed by events.

#### Proposal

Dr Alfonsin also reported that he had suggested yesterday to his party's leadership that a meeting of democratic Latin American parties be held to consider imperialist aggression and to establish a permanent framework for understanding and joint action.

Alfonsin said that the present situation was not only a case of aggression by the United States and Great Britain against Argentina, "but it is a case of old imperialist aggression against Latin America."

#### "Irrelevant Discussions," Vanoli Says

Radical leader Enrique Vanoli stated that "as long as the country is engaged in a war against colonialism, there can be no friction and the Argentine domestic front must remain united in this fight."

"When the war ends and we have triumphed, we will all, civilians and soldiers, have to sit down around a table to discuss the future of the country," he added.

He concluded by noting that "as long as our soldiers are defending our sovereignty, we cannot get into debates which are irrelevant for the time being." (NA)

#### Opinions of Other Parties

The proposal made by a group of UCR members to form a government of transition to democracy continued to stir reactions among other political leaders.

Most of the politicians consulted by Argentine News expressed a certain amount of hesitation concerning the proposal.

#### Angel Robledo

In the opinion of Justicialist Party leader Angel Robledo, the UCR proposal "cannot be very appropriate at this time, since as I understand it, this would mean a complete change of government."

"If that is the case, I don't believe that on the eve of battle, both military and diplomatic, that we can start proposing solutions of that type," he added.

The former interior minister of the last Peronist government explained, however, that he would approve "if it were simply a proposal concerning the possibility of a national union government that would enable us to deal with the problems of the Malvinas."

#### Simon Lazara

The head of the Unified Socialist Party, Simon Lazara, meanwhile affirmed that "the essential thing is the change of government, that is, the reestablishment of the will of the people," since "ultimately, we cannot forget that we are also fighting for the full implementation of the National Constitution."

"In brief, it is a matter of finding the institutional and political formulas which will make it possible to restore the sovereignty of the people as soon as possible, as well as to make the necessary economic changes that will make it possible to get the country on its feet and to develop its full productive capacity," he emphasized.

Lazara stated that "an extended process has taken place to demand democratic participation by all sectors of society, a process which must be allowed to proceed. This is essential," he added, "because the people's participation will also assure the national unity necessary for the military victory."

Angel Bruno

The leader of the Christian Democratic Party, Angel Bruno, in turn maintained that "it is absolutely necessary to understand that the notion of sovereignty will not end with the territorial recovery of our Malvinas Islands, and that it basically includes the legitimate right of the people to decide their own destiny."

"The return to a government of laws as soon as possible is therefore essential," he emphasized, "thus bearing in mind that the main thing is the full application of the National Constitution, it is not appropriate to talk about interim arrangements."

Bruno finally pointed out that "if the people are mature enough to face a war, it is obvious that they are also mature enough to choose their officials and program of government without conditions of any kind."

Rabanaque Caballero

The head of the capital committee of the Intransigent Party, Raul Rabanaque Caballero, agreed with the views of the Christian Democratic leader and added that "the main thing is to return to the full implementation of the National Constitution without any intermediate stage."

"Beyond the recovery of the Malvinas, which is an extremely important event in our country's history," he added, "I want to emphasize that this process must lead to a democratic outcome as quickly and as orderly as possible."

Rabanaque Caballero stressed that "it is also necessary to make a 180-degree turn in this antinational and antigovernmental economic policy, because the battle against colonialism and imperialism must be waged on all fronts: military, economic, cultural and political." (NA)

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CSO: 3010/1628

## LANUSSE ON ELECTIONS, RELATIONS WITH U.S.

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 11 May 82 p 16

[Text] "Argentine blood has always served to unite. Therefore, regardless of our experience, the conclusion is the same: An enormous challenge lies ahead for us and to meet that challenge, we must bear in mind the example of Argentine youth, who are today defending our interests with arms," Lt Gen Alejandro A. Lanusse stated. His wife, Mrs Ileana Maria Bell, clapped enthusiastically in time to the rhythmic melodies interpreted by Jaime Torres in an artistic tribute to Latin America when the former president first began to speak.

## Stability of Country

"How can this historic event change the country's internal situation? The government will undoubtedly continue to have its problems. This will probably speed up the time of participation by the people somewhat. I believe that, with determination and steadfastness, the authorities, with the participation and commitment of society, will have to seek Argentine stability, something which I did not manage to do, perhaps because of my own limitations."

## Socioeconomic Council

[Question] What means do you consider appropriate for directing participation?

[Answer] We must not make the mistake of being hasty. For example, immediate elections would be Russian roulette today. But it is possible to begin to see a solution to this new Argentine situation and the way out must be found with order, strength and participation. An open dialogue with political leaders and with leaders of other sectors of society and their participation in the various levels of government can be one way of achieving this. I would arrange a conference for politicians to discuss and think about present requirements so that--in that way--they could cooperate with authorities and also concerning the future. I would also establish a socioeconomic council, or something similar, composed of business organizations, trade unions and other intermediaries. I believe that history does not knock twice on the door of a country and this blow to the heart which we have received must be intelligently utilized. General San Martin asked for glory and liberty; glory and liberty are our commitment today.

Our Ideals and Those of the U.S.

[Question] Could a significant change develop in the balance between Latin America and the United States as a result of this historic circumstance?

[Answer] This is a particularly delicate subject. I hope that this candid and fraternal unity grows stronger so that Latin America can usefully serve its common goal. But the mistakes of a prevailing situation must not be confused with the desire of a people. The United States has shown that it is a great and honorable country. Despite its current government leaders, its ideals are the same as ours.

A folkloric group interpreted a musical piece which spoke about Christ and Lanusse asked: "Do you believe that we can fail him?" And he added, with good humor, referring to his wife's last name: "For a month she has been calling herself Ileana Campana [Spanish for "bell"]."

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CSO: 3010/1628



## FRONDIZI ADVOCATES NATIONAL POLITICAL UNITY

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 13 May 82 p 14

[Text] "It is not a matter of changing leaders. What the country needs is a basic change of policy; and more than that, a programmatic agreement supporting that policy, including civilians and the military, all classes and sectors and basic political groups." These remarks were made by the chairman of the Integration and Development Movement (MID), Dr Arturo Frondizi, in the plenary session of the Political Action Committee of Buenos Aires Province, during which he and the first deputy chairman of that political group, Mr Rogelio Frigerio, analyzed the national situation.

## Economic Program

The former president of the nation stated that "the present economic program, in 1976, was prepared according to the outline of the Trilateral Commission and the Chicago school [of economics], and the same version included the same plan's two versions, which followed it." He emphasized that now there is a need for a policy which, without foreign interference, will correspond fully to national interests and desires, "a policy which does not reward speculators, but rather producers; which would get the productive apparatus on its feet to provide support for our soldiers and our diplomats in the present emergency." And he pointed out that what was necessary prior to 2 April is now becoming more urgent.

## National Movement

Mr Frigerio in turn said that "we have observed national problems with great concern, for while the armed forces are demonstrating their heroism, the government's policy is undermining the nation's foundations." He added that the MID "is formulating a proposal for the emergency, with the aim of encouraging a debate and programmatic agreement among workers, businessmen, professionals, priests, the military and naturally, national political parties. The MID," he explained, "is defining its doctrine and organization more thoroughly and will continue to do so, although not in a sectarian way, but as the nucleus of a great national movement."

Mr Frigerio added that "we intend to build a strong party so that it will help to build fundamental national unity and not in order to derive sectoral benefits." He noted that that has always been the strategy of the MID "and still is," he stressed, "when the nation needs programmatic unity to face a profound crisis and a difficult international conflict at the same time."

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CSO: 3010/1628

## POLITICAL MEETINGS ADDRESS POST CRISIS OBJECTIVES

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 25 May 82 p 14

[Text] As the war develops, intensive secret talks are taking place in the political world.

Dr. Jose Antonio Romero Feris, a leading advocate of strong autonomy and a former adviser to President Viola, appears to be one of the most active politicians working to establish ties between factions of the most diverse orientation.

His membership in the Popular Federalist Force has not prevented him from becoming a regular partner in talks with the leaders of the Multipartidaria, trade unions and even officials with political responsibilities delegated by the three military commands.

His goal, as he has repeatedly said, is to establish, as soon as possible, the bases for an agreement that would include all currents of national thought.

His latest significant action: a private chat with Dr Arturo Illia.

The former assistant general secretary to the president, Dr Ricardo Yofre, has been following a similar path. Many a meeting has been attended by this born politician, although unaffiliated with a party, who has stated the need for immediate cooperation concerning a program of government that would consider redefining economic, social and foreign policies. Everything has been aimed at establishing the bases for a new political plan which would create the ways and means of achieving a stable democracy, including of course, the body of men capable of directing the transition.

Finally, among so many bridges which are being built between the civilian and military power establishments, we note the curious list of people attending a dinner held by Peron's former interior minister, Dr Benito Llambi, on Thursday of last week at his apartment on Avenida del Libertador. The dinner guests were, among others, the papal nuncio, Ubaldo Calabresi; Bishop Laguna; Mayor Del Cioppo; the undersecretary of the interior, Colonel Menendez, and Drs Garcia Puente (Radical), Gomez Morales and Guardo (Peronists).

The serene atmosphere created by the dinner guests was disturbed only for a moment when Llambi said that general elections needed to be called right away.

Colonel Menendez was then obliged to make it clear that regardless of the outcome of the war, the government did not intend to yield to pressure or to suddenly disappear.

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CSO: 3010/1628

## INCREASED NUMBER OF SEATS IN CHAMBER STRENGTHENS 'PACKAGE'

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 13 Jun 82 p 2

[Text] Brasilia--With tomorrow's automatic passage of the proposed constitutional amendments that increase the number of seats in the Chamber [of Deputies] and the call for cloture by the national PDS [Social Democratic Party] leadership on 21 June, the government can consider its "package" of constitutional reforms approved by Congress, according to government party officials.

In the understanding of these informants, the PDS call for a vote on the package will require all PDS deputies and senators to vote in favor of its provisions, ending the opposition that has been expressed in the Chamber about mixed district voting and reestablishing a two-thirds quorum. Moreover, with approval of amendments for increasing the number of deputies, the package will be the only option for the Chamber not to have the same 420 deputies next year, which would lead to fewer seats for five states.

According to PDS leadership, the increased number of seats in the Chamber will be the part of the government's package with most appeal for the deputies. The government is accepting an increase from 420 to 477 representatives on the terms of Senator Moacir Dalla's (PDS--Espirito Santo) substitute proposal. Although Dalla's proposal appeals to most of the deputies, it will be officially ratified tomorrow as a result of the expiration of the 90-day period from the time it was introduced without having obtained a quorum to vote on it.

Some PDS leaders believe the package will also receive much support from the opposition, as the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Mobilization Party] leadership decided to allow their members to vote as they please on the provisions that increase the number of Chamber seats. The formula proposed by the package is welcomed by the opposition because it increases representation from, among others, São Paulo, where the PDS is expected to suffer its worst defeat.

The package will include the increase to 477 deputies. No state will have less than 8 deputies (the minimum now is 6) nor more than 60 deputies (the maximum now is 55). Each territory will elect three deputies, compared with the two elected now. Rondonia, as the newest state, will elect eight deputies. In deciding the number of representatives from each state, the computations made by Senator Moacir Dalla based upon population growth since the last election will be used.

Sao Paulo will gain 5 more seats in the Chamber, increasing from 55 to 60. Among the states benefited most are Para, which increases from 10 to 14; Maranhao, from 12 to 16; Pernambuco, from 22 to 26; and Bahia, from 32 to 40 representatives. The number of representatives from Parana, Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraiba will remain unchanged; had the total remained at 420 deputies, their representation in the Chamber would have been reduced in the November elections.

The increase in the number of Chamber seats to 477 will be proposed in the substitute bill that Deputy Jairo Magalhaes (PDS-Minas Gerais) will recommend for the government package of constitutional reforms on 17 June before the joint congressional committee, modifying the original provisions, which called for an increase to 441 seats in November and 460 in the 1986 election.

Present and future membership of the Chamber of Deputies, by states, is shown in the table below:

<u>State</u>	<u>Current</u>	<u>Future</u>
Acre	6	8
Amazonas	6	8
Para	10	14
Rondonia	2	8
Maranhao	12	16
Piaui	8	9
Ceara	20	22
Rio Grande do Norte	8	8
Paraiba	11	11
Pernambuco	22	26
Alagoas	7	8
Sergipe	6	8
Bahia	32	40
Espirito Santo	8	8
Rio de Janeiro	46	47
Minas Gerais	47	56
Sao Paulo	55	60
Goiias	14	16
Mato Grosso	8	8
Mato Grosso do Sul	6	8
Parana	34	34
Santa Catarina	16	16
Rio Grande do Sul	32	32
Amapa	2	3
Roraima	2	3
Total	420	477

8834

CSO: 3001/170

## FIGUEIREDO REMAINS SILENT ON PREFERENCES FOR 1984

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 15 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by C. C.]

[Excerpt] Brasilia--Gen Joao Figueiredo does not show irritation--as would be expected from his usual pattern--but only a strategic lack of interest on those regularly recurring occasions when the matter of the presidential succession is brought to his attention. It happens from time to time in the form of reports by the media and news summaries from the press. Speculation, commentaries, and even the stirrings of one of the boldest candidates--generally former Governor Paulo Maluf--reach his desk, but he makes no comment. His strategy is to discourage, without being unaware of, the preliminaries taking place in the sight of everyone.

Not even ministers who are assiduous visitors to the Granja do Torto find it possible to question the head of government as to how he views or interprets the inferences that are being made.

It is learned from persons close to the president that Figueiredo has not changed his attitude as far as the succession is concerned. From the time that he himself was chosen, and because of the new era of political relaxation, he decided not to copy the procedure followed by his immediate predecessor or any of his predecessors. By his own decision, he will not name the new president, nor will he leave the matter up to the High Command. This does not mean that he will wash his hands of it, with no voice or will in the matter; what it means is that the process must be one of political and revolutionary consensus when the time comes. He intends that there shall be an expanded decisionmaking process, with no major exclusions, in which he will reserve the right and duty, as head of the revolution and member of the largest national party, to express his opinion, but never in an imperial manner. He does not criticize Gen Ernesto Geisel, who chose him as the candidate for one party of opinion, or the previous members of the military leadership because they acted as they did. Circumstances then required what was done, just as circumstances now will require what will be done.

While not accepting a simplistic division between civilians and the military--that is, not vetoing civilians because they wear business suits or military men because they wear uniforms--he feels that his successor will have to be chosen

on the basis of a broad understanding resulting from these new times. Never during this year or even in 1983--and very probably not until the second half of 1984--will he want to see the process get decisively underway and result in the choice of someone capable of expressing the continuity of the Movement of 31 March and the guarantee that political relaxation and democratization will continue. Those preliminaries lead one to expect the appearance of a candidate without the characteristics of Figueiredo or of his predecessors in terms of a revolutionary mission (that is, someone not from the High Command). But this kind of reasoning does not exclude the possibility that the candidate will be a military man. Future events will determine first the conditions, then the persons--or the person.

What Figueiredo is not relinquishing is his right to coordinate the process, in cooperation with those who support him, to a sufficient degree so that it will not seem to be getting out of control. He does not seem to consider the possibility that he will be succeeded by someone from the opposition, but within the situation as given, the alternatives are open.

The president is aware that in the Cabinet and the government, as well as on their periphery, there are people being spoken of who are doing their preliminary catechism work. He is stating no opinion about any of them, nor is he showing any preference in one direction or another. Octavio Medeiros, Mario Andreazza, Costa Cavalcanti, Aureliano Chaves, and anyone else has a right to aspire to Planalto Palace if they so desire, just as they also have the duty not to precipitate events or contribute to divisiveness. Whoever crosses the tenuous boundary of those preconditions is in danger not only of being exposed but also of encountering his resistance.

A few days ago, Minister Mario Andreazza said he was aware that his name had been suggested and, what is more, that he did not see why he should deny the possibility that he might be considered in the future. But at no time will he make himself an obstacle to Figueiredo if the latter's choice (and that of the forces being coordinated by Figueiredo) falls on another candidate. Vice President Aureliano Chaves says the same thing: he is not presenting himself as a candidate, but he does not think that he will have no chance when the time comes. Costa Cavalcanti follows the same line: he does not deny that he wants the job and he considers himself qualified to be president of the republic if chosen, but he feels that anyone who steps forward before the time comes will be burned. Gen Octavio Medeiros, remaining silent, does not even admit to considering such things, although like the others, he knows he is a possible choice. The exception in this list of pretenders to the presidency is former Governor Paulo Maluf, who does not deny that he is working to win the nomination.

None of them--and this is a certainty--has brought the problem of succession up with Gen Joao Figueiredo in personal terms. The intricate chess game they are playing does not allow direct advances. The reverse side of the coin is that, showing itself to be in tune with the times, the High Command has also reached a decision: there will be no question of creating an accomplished fact and even less of imposing another general as president, although the next president may also turn out to be a general. Barring unforeseen circumstances, the time has come for the military estate as such to move from center stage to the wings.



There is no doubt as to the existence of candidates doing their preliminary work or that those in power are determined not to hand that power over to their opponents. But anyone who assumes that the next president will be a particular individual is in danger of erring in his perspective. Imagining, for example, that it will be only Medeiros or Andreazza and that no one else has a chance would reflect a lack of vision.

11798

CSO: 3001/168

## PCB ANNOUNCES PARTY SUPPORT FOR ELECTION CANDIDATES

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 10 Jun 82 p 4

[Text] Giocondo Dias, secretary general of the banned Brazilian Communist Party (PCB), said during a press conference yesterday at Rio de Janeiro's Legislative Assembly that "the Communists support the candidacy of Deputy Miro Teixeira (PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party]) to succeed Governor Chagas Freitas."

Giocondo said that the Communists will support all PMDB candidates who commit themselves to the struggle for democratic freedoms and that they will work for the election of Paulo Alberto Monteiro de Barros--Artur da Tavola--to the Senate.

## Coalition Government

The PCB secretary general mentioned the names of Federal Deputies Marcelo Cerqueira (secretary general of the PMDB Regional Executive Committee) and Modesto da Silveira, as well as former union leader Hercules Correa, as the candidates preferred by the Communists for the Chamber of Deputies.

For the State Legislative Assembly, Giocondo Dias said that the Communists want to see incumbent State Deputies Alves de Brito and Heloneida Studart reelected. For the Rio de Janeiro Municipal Council, they will support the candidacy of former Deputy Alberto Rajao.

Giocondo explained that the Communists decided to support Miro Teixeira "because his candidacy is the one most conducive to unity and because he promised that if elected, he would form a nonexclusive coalition government." The PCB's secretary general released a long memo acknowledging the democratic character of the other current opposition parties. In it, he explains that the disagreements with the PT, the PDT, and the PTB [Brazilian Labor Party] "are of a temporary electoral nature." The document reaffirms the Communist stand against any kind of revanchist position.

The PCB leader said during the press conference that the candidacy of Leonel Brizola, former governor of Rio Grande do Sul, for the post of governor of Rio de Janeiro as a member of the PDT is not contributing to the unity of the opposition and that although he does not believe that this was Brizola's intention, "his candidacy is dividing the electorate and the votes of the opposition."

Giocondo Dias also said that the Communists do not regard Governor Chagas Freitas (PMDB) as "the main enemy," and he explained: "The main enemy is the PDS [Social Democratic Party]; it is the PDS that must be defeated."

Someone mentioned that Deputy Miro Teixeira was Governor Chagas Freitas' candidate, and Giocondo observed: "We support Miro. If Chagas supports him, too, what can we do about it?"

"But isn't Miro heir to the Chagas policy?"

"We support Miro because of the stands he has taken. If he is elected and does not keep his promises, then we will fight him," answered Giocondo Dias.

Miro could not be located last night.

11798

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## PCB, SOCIALIST CONVERGENCE MEMBERS IN ROUND-TABLE DEBATE

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 20 Jun 82 p 160

[Round-table discussion by Hercules Correa, Brazilian Communist Party; Jose Maria de Almeida, Socialist Convergence; and "independent political scientists" Leoncio Martins Rodrigues and Roberto Romano: "Communists Get Together. Get Together?"; coordinated by Luiz Fernando Emediato and edited by Irene Vocovix]

[Text] The Brazilian Left is disunited and its various groups differ sharply about national issues or how to socialize the means of production: This was revealed at the round-table discussion held by O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO and participated in by Hercules Correa of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB), Jose Maria de Almeida of the Socialist Convergence and independent political scientists Leoncio Martins Rodrigues and Roberto Romano. The intention had been to bring together the entire Brazilian Left for a democratic debate but it was impossible: The Communist Party of Brazil (PCdoB) did not reply to the invitation; the 8 October Revolutionary Movement (MR-8) decided at the last minute not to attend; and a representative of the church's "left wing" refused the invitation. Coordination by Luiz Fernando Emediato with participation by Rui Portilho (of our Rio de Janeiro bureau) and Irene Vocovix, who produced the final text.

Romano: For 18 years we have been ruled by an extremely arbitrary legal system which is maintained by physical force and by ideological propaganda seeking to idolize the efficiency of economic production, excluding democracy from within civil society. It is possible to discern, however, a certain moderation of the regime's most clearly authoritarian features, although retaining the predominance of central power against the will of the nation's majority. In view of this, it can be asserted without much room for error that most leftist movements are in a state of conflict with the prevailing legal system. The illegality of democracy: this is the dilemma faced by the socialist opposition and by all movements of meaningful democratic protest.

How can one accept a juridical situation that expels critical groups from political life by virtue of the dominant rhetoric? Otherwise, how can one exist outside this imposed legal system without in turn falling into isolated political activity out of

touch with the decisive events of state and civil society? What are the tolerable limits for underground political survival? At what point might this imposed segregation drive socialist opposition forces to intellectual paralysis, stereotyped analysis, repetition of outmoded forms of overall strategy and tactics? And, finally, to what degree has the problem of legality been confronted theoretically and practically by the Brazilian Left, in terms of research into the origins of the "state of emergency" within which we are governed?

Almeida: For us, the Socialist Convergence, the problem of legality is associated with the class struggle. We prefer to discuss it from the viewpoint of freedom of organization and expression by all social sectors and particularly by the workers. In Brazil political organizations and unions of the working class are forced underground, but not those of the ruling class. In other words, the laws--and what is legal is illegal--are used to maintain capitalist society and repress, or at least restrict, any movement of the workers or the exploited. So this question of legality and of struggle for freedom is essentially part of the struggle the workers are waging and must continue to wage to overthrow the military dictatorship that was established in our country in 1964 and that has been maintained until today, despite superficial changes.

Correa: Legality is an issue not only in capitalist society but also in socialist. In a capitalist society it is confronted, discussed, analyzed and solved, not by class conflict, but among various social classes. We are forced to conclude that in order to solve this question of legality there must be a democracy. Mankind has not yet solved this problem that democracy, whether in a class society or a classless society, has an element of coercion. Or, rather, the problem of the majority ruling the minority. I am in the habit of saying that whoever has power in his hands had better learn to use it--and it can be used to reason with the minority, to persuade it, or simply to crush it. And the manner in which this issue is solved determines the degree of political freedom people have to express their discontent. We Brazilian communists are advocating expansion of political freedom, but we are not running away from class struggle.

Rodrigues: Is democracy possible with only one party?

Correa: It is possible, depending upon how such a party conducts itself. It is usually not a good path to take. However, that is not where the problem is, but rather in the mechanisms that society can use to control that one party or the state. And this is true for the socialist regime that has only one party as well as for one that has several parties. In the Soviet Union, for example, I think there is political democracy, but it lags behind social and economic democracy. I think several levels of state administration should be elected by direct vote and not appointed by the party, through public scrutiny rather than through private arrangements. It would strengthen a socialist regime, not weaken it.

Rodrigues: I would mention that overthrowing the government and achieving certain democratic advantages are not entirely exclusive: it is possible to achieve certain democratic advances without overthrowing the government. Moreover, there are numerous currents in Brazilian public opinion in various parties that, in principle, favor democracy.

Romano: What bothers me is the way the Socialist Convergence addresses the issue of legality: given the confrontation of political agents, it is force that decides establishment of legality. And it makes the workers the new sovereigns who are to conduct the dictatorship. Now, at such a time the winner takes all. In a certain way, you define the proletariat as the great Leviathan, but there have already been examples of this Leviathan--Stalin and Hitler. And if you read Carl Schmitt's book entitled "The Dictatorship," he uses many statements by Lenin to justify dictatorship, pure and simple.

#### Problem of Violence

Almeida: The government of the working class proposed by the Socialist Convergence would expropriate the bourgeoisie and establish conditions for constructing socialism--a socialism that will, of course, be founded upon the sovereignty of the workers as a whole. It will not be a government of the type existing in the Soviet Union today, where Stalinism distorted the workers' state, establishing what amounted to a bureaucratic dictatorship over the workers. For us, the overthrow of this dictatorship we have now will come about through the workers' struggle. And our option is a government without bourgeoisie, of the working class and its political and labor organizations.

Rodrigues: People from other classes--intellectuals, university students, wives of workers--would they all vote?

Almeida: No. There would be elections for workers councils and all the working population would vote. Now, if you want to know whether the bourgeoisie will participate in this process, they will not. We advocate freedom of organization for all socialist parties of the working class, but there will not be room for any bourgeois parties. Absolutely none. In my conception, there are two classes in society: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. There is no third class.

Rodrigues: It's black or white; God or the Devil...

Almeida: It's God or the Devil. On the one side is Hitler and everything he did for profit accumulation and on the other is a workers' state, organized on the basis of workers' democracy.

Romano: I should like to remind you that Hitler was elected by majority vote and had the overwhelming support of the workers. And this concept of the majority is very complicated. In the revolution of 1917, for example, the Bolsheviks were a minority and were speaking on behalf of the majority. How, then, can the majority be determined qualitatively?

Almeida: According to who produces. It is simple.

Rodrigues: It depends upon what is meant by the working class. If it means industrial workers, there clearly is no statistical device that can transform them into the majority of the Brazilian population.

Romano: The PCB believes that existing conflicts in society can be resolved only by expanding political democracy. But could it be that, when its party takes power, it too will yield to violence as the only possibility of saving itself from very

serious situations? Really, at what point would the PCB proposal differ from a standard Marxist-Leninist proposal of the type expounded by the Socialist Convergence?

Correa: I am not proposing changes, but making a self-criticism. There is a difference. We are making a great effort to conform to what Lenin said about democracy and freedom, because there are many people who use Marx and Lenin in a very arbitrary fashion--whoever they may be. We are now embarking upon a discussion within the party and a commitment to society, which has a right to demand clear commitments from the various political parties. And, in Brazil, this is not customary and it is not by chance that politics and politicians, in the people's view, are synonymous with deceit and deception. This is one of the things that most greatly aids authoritarianism in Brazil, that most contributes to a weakly organized civil society.

Rodrigues: I view with satisfaction the position the PCB has been taking in recent years, because I believe our social problems--and they are immense--and political problems could be solved more easily if the various forces that enter the political arena were committed to the proposition of democracy. But we are constantly talking about the class struggle and it doesn't help any to keep bringing it up, making a big thing of it. Just as soon as you construct the argument--and I think it is an extremely rigid one--that gives the working class a historic mission to save humanity and, in saving itself, to save all the other social classes, we are almost invariably drifting toward Leninism. So it is more or less understood that the other classes are to be eliminated. I think this is the problem being addressed today in Italy, in Spain, under social democracy--which implies a rejection of Marxism as a closed system, implies deemphasizing the fundamental goal of nationalizing all the means of production. How does the PCB view this question?

Correa: I don't think Marxism is a closed system; why blame it if I have distorted it several times? Moreover, our proposal is to socialize the means of production and we are not going to hide that. Socialization, like a strike, is an act of violence--it could or could not be done with weapons and we would like to see a policy to prevent this. Nowhere in the world has capitalist society been transformed into socialist society through reform, but our proposal is that it happen here in Brazil, without armed conflict. But this does not depend upon us alone. It is a desire, a position...

But there are persons who suddenly decide to do certain things--they go to Riocentro, place a bomb there and blow everything up. If it were up to me, that bomb would not have been put there--and you are talking to someone who has planted many bombs, because when we began the famous "August Manifesto" policy we were proposing to dynamite railroads, burn streetcars, even cities. A very wrong policy.

Romano: In your reasoning, I had the impression of something I've seen not only in the communist movement, but also in the Catholic Church--there is a Gospel, which is correct and eternal, whereas men make mistakes. So it is necessary to make a self-criticism, a change in attitude. Could it be that this authoritarian idea exists within your own ideology, as something that could emerge at any moment?

Correa: This new understanding of what a revolutionary party is, is something we have discussed, as it is not possible to theorize about the Brazilian proletariat

in the same way that Lenin theorized about the Russian. My role is to try and explain to the proletariat why it is suffering and show how to get rid of this. But the transforming role is strictly that of the class. And we Brazilian communists are making a public self-criticism of an incorrect interpretation we had of Marxism-Leninism.

Almeida: I don't agree with Hercules, because no transformation will occur without social upheaval, without struggle. If we adopt the idea that it is possible to make this transformation without violence, we shall simply be disarming the power of the proletariat. If we adopt a policy of conciliation with a more "progressive" sector of the bourgeoisie, we inevitably will be making the working class a mere appendage of that sector and there will never be any social transformation--we will never arrive at socialism. And, as far as I'm concerned, Hercules' position is not one of self-criticism but one of revising Marxism-Leninism, because Marxism begins with the Communist Manifesto and the history of mankind is the history of class struggle.

'I Must Admit: The PCB Was Brutally Authoritarian'

Correa: The PCB practiced authoritarianism brutally and the "August Manifesto" demonstrates this. During the last 20 years intellectuals were ordered to write books according to what the party leadership wanted and not according to what they thought. Others, because they wrote certain things, were kept somewhat on the fringe of party political activity. I was against the "August Manifesto," I voted against it but later followed it to the letter. During the Dutra government I was arrested 18 times because I was given the task of getting up in front of the union and making a speech denouncing it. I made 18 speeches and was arrested 18 times. I thought it was madness, but I abided by the decision of the majority. It can't be any other way and anyone who does not want to do this doesn't join the party.

However, rejection of the "August Manifesto" came about through the party's industrial sector, because its application had shown the decision to be wrong. Our policy toward labor unions was one of alliance with the Getulists but the party's policy at that time was to overthrow Getulio [Vargas] by supporting Carlos Lacerda. And then came the labor-union resolution of 1950 and 1952, which was written by one of the leading supporters of the "August Manifesto," Carlos Marighella. The thinking of the majority was in conflict with his, but he was man enough to write it the way the majority wanted it.

Romano: In the Brazilian case, millions judge the Estado Novo through the extremely negative view of Jorge Amado in "Subterraneos da Liberdade"...

Hercules: Which was written against his will.

Romano: All the worse.

Parties Supported by the Left

Almeida: Our intention is to organize the worker independently and prevent his following in the train of bourgeois liberals such as Miro Teixeira in Rio de Janeiro, Montoro in Sao Paulo and Roberto Santos in Bahia.



Romano: Here in Sao Paulo we are emerging from a state government of bourgeois bandits that destroyed what it could of culture and public health and reduced the power of civil society to a minimum, but aren't you confusing persons and programs?

Almeida: In relation to the candidates and their programs, there is a dividing of the waters. On our side are the workers and their only legal party--the PT [Workers Party]--and on the other side, the bosses and all their parties. And Hercules says that in Brazil politics is synonymous with deceit and the politician, with deception but, if we analyze what the PCB used to say about Miro Teixeira and Chagas Freitas and what it is saying now, it is clear that the worker has not learned anything. The support being given to candidates of this type, who until a few days ago were part of the dictatorship, is madness.

Essentially, they all belong to a class that, to defend its privileges and profits, must maintain exploitation of the workers. Only their methods differ--Maluf uses beatings; Montoro, just a blow on the shoulder. As far as we are concerned, the candidacy of Lula in Sao Paulo is the biggest political event since the PCB was able to compete freely in the 1946 election.

Romano: Lula said the university was of no use. So I am going to vote against the PT, because, as far as I am concerned, it has served for a long time in the struggle against dictatorship, making it possible for many intellectuals to now serve in the ranks of the PT. I become very upset when I see vast sectors of the Left advocating bread as if it were an absolute good. If we who want to change the country's cultural situation advocated nothing for the worker but bread, we would disarm him spiritually and prevent him from thinking with his own head.

For 18 years we survived a very authoritarian regime because in various sectors of society we had individuals with a conscience, with critical capacity, who were interested in something more than a full stomach. They also had a head full of ideas. Bread and Mallarme, both. Not just bread, which is all the PT seems to want. Isn't the PCB also a party of the workers?

Almeida: If it stays within the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Mobilization Party] it too will be a party of the bosses. I'll admit that there is a difference between the Medici government and the present one, but only the facade of the dictatorship has changed. Now, of course, you can file charges when a person is arrested, there is less torture, but the essence of power still flows through the military-police apparatus which is still here and is the direct representative of imperialism. In that sense the PCB is playing a significant role, because it is within the ranks of a bourgeois party, urging the workers to vote for policies intended solely to maintain military dictatorship.

Romano: I should just like to remind you that many "petite bourgeoisie" from the university--and who are not in the ranks of the PT--struggled against the dictatorship, were arrested, were tortured. What is this story that the workers are the only victims? Have all these other persons suddenly vanished? And how can one speak of the absolute originality of the PT, creating the abstraction that this party appeared precisely as a result of the struggle of all the Left, of all opposition in Brazil? There are no miracles and the PT did not descend from the heavens.

Correa: I also recall O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO's cake recipes... For the Convergence, the elections are a clash between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. As for ourselves, we are not corporativists---we are working for our legality and you may remain within the PT with complete freedom of organization. In Brazil we are in a period of transition from a fascist regime to one of broad political freedoms and, from the viewpoint of those who took power in 1964, it is a transition from a fascist to a typical authoritarian regime. And this year's elections may or may not gather strength to block this plan of the government: the context is not one of capital and labor, but of authoritarianism and democracy. Actual circumstances in Brazil created an instrument, which is the PP [Popular Party] merged with the PMDB, that provides the best opportunity to confront the government's policy, which is to assure election of most of the PDS [Social Democratic Party] state governors to get political control of the Electoral College.

It should also be understood that the political situation in these elections is not the same as that of 1974 and 1978, because there is a process of political liberalization. Meanwhile, there is a democratic discourse conflicting with practice and the opposition forces must explain this to society, since many people could be fooled, precisely because of liberalization and foreign policy. We cannot deny that there is a real and limited liberalization, but President Figueiredo and the PDS are not its owners, nor are the communists. It belongs to the majority of the people and the government is trying to take it away from them. The opposition is not analyzing this situation and, from the viewpoint of votes, the government could get 10, 15, 18 PDS governors and achieve a possibility of political control. This idea that only the PT is an opposition party has no foundation. You are not the only democratic force in this country!

Almeida: No? And Miro Teixeira also?

Correa: And Miro also, and Montoro and Marcos Freire, to name just a few. It is also well to recall that even in the PDS there are many people who want a regime of broad democratic freedoms.

Almeida: I'm afraid of their kind of democracy... They're all peas from the same pod: Montoro, Miro and Maluf. I'm afraid of a beating.

Correa: I'm not, if only because I've given plenty myself, and more than you have. What is the role of the electoral policy of the PT and the PTB [Brazilian Labor Party] here in Sao Paulo? It is an electoral policy that benefits the central power.

Almeida: It is an electoral policy that benefits the workers.

Correa: No. Your policy disunites, divides. So it benefits the central power and assists President Figueiredo's authoritarian plans.

Almeida (excitedly): President Figueiredo's plans are being carried out by those who are now urging the workers to organize themselves under the direction of the bourgeoisie, of Mr Miro Teixeira, of Mr Roberto Santos, of Mr Montoro here in Sao Paulo. Because this is the dictatorship's plan: to change the facade and retain the essence of exploitation.

Correa: Excuse me! You seem to be greatly offended.

Almeida: I am.

Correa: When a person loses his temper it is because he doesn't have any argument. To take away a vote from Montoro is to benefit the federal government's plan. That is our opinion and we are going to repeat it everywhere, regardless of whom it hurts. In Rio de Janeiro, it is the same thing: we are going to say it about Brizola and about Lisaneas, because we are for Miro.

Almeida: You are even willing, in your struggle for freedom, to maintain an alliance with those who beat up workers with chains, just like the MR-8.

Correa: Alliance, yes. A beating, no. Another thing: the candidate of the central power in Rio de Janeiro is not from the PDS but from the PTB. Sandra Cavalcanti helped form this regime and never left the ARENA [National Renewal Alliance]--her intention is not a rotation of parties in the central power but a "house-cleaning" in Rio de Janeiro, using a very odd combination of "undenism" [referring to the UDN, National Democratic Union] and laborism, which have never had anything in common in the political history of Brazil. And Leonel Brizola, with his candidacy, is going to play the role in this election that Tenorio Cavalcanti played in the 1960 elections, when Carlos Lacerda, one of those who organized the 1964 coup d'etat, was elected. In Sao Paulo as well, the PT, with Lula, and the PTB, with Janio [Quadros], will take votes away from whom? From Montoro, for the benefit of the PDS candidate.

There are sectors of the ruling class who are talking about a program of free social democracy for Brazil and they are in several parties--the PT (the greatest number), the PDT [Democratic Labor Party], the PMDB, the Catholic Church. The only one openly espousing this proposal is Brizola's PDT. It must be made clear that this is not a socialist regime, but capitalist, bourgeois. Although our platform is different, we don't consider that a crime. But it is unethical for people to talk about it as if it were something else.

Rodrigues: If we had in Brazil a liberal-type party committed to democracy, I'm sure our political life would be in a more satisfactory condition. But that is not a solution. There isn't any idea of a unique, immediate, total and final solution--that is utopian, as reality has demonstrated during the last 20 or 30 years. I really think this idea should be abandoned by the Left, especially in those countries where there is already a large enough volume of wealth to allow some distribution--and I am thinking specifically of southern Brazil. And I think the PT could have gone somewhat in that direction if it had managed to get stronger support from the working class rather than from enormous sectors of the middle class, as actually occurred.

8834

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## GOVERNMENT'S NEW ANTI-INFLATION TACTIC: COST REDUCTION

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 13 Jun 82 p 25

[Article by Gilberto Menezes Cortes]

[Text] The government has changed its tactics for fighting inflation and trying to balance its external accounts. Pressured by inflation's resistance, the drop in exports (accompanied, fortunately, by an even greater drop in imports), and the lifeless economic climate, the government has decided to act pragmatically by attacking the cost factors in each productive sector. Those factors are currently free of price controls.

This was learned from talks in Brasilia last week with ministers and advisers in the economic area. The current word of command is to increase productivity as a way of lowering inflation. This will be done by tackling industry's idle capacity in the hope of reducing production costs and improving the competitiveness of Brazilian products abroad.

A well-placed economic adviser to Delfim Neto explained that the objective of the minister's meetings with businessmen from various sectors of the economy has been to uncover the cost problems in each area.

Considering the need to attract foreign funds, reducing interest rates as a way of reducing production costs is problematical. The wage policy (regarded by the Planning Secretariat of the Presidency as inhibiting a more rapid decline in inflation) has remained untouched ever since President Figueiredo praised it.

Minister Delfim's warning to the businessmen that they should be moderate in raising prices also carries another meaning: the firms need to produce more in order to reduce costs, but if they raise their prices too much, costs will rise again, causing another round of inflation.

It would therefore serve no purpose for the government to grant favorable rates to the nonferrous metals industry in off-peak periods (which helps to increase the billings of the Brazilian electric industry--highly indebted abroad at \$10 billion) if domestic prices are going to rise too much.

In the area of foreign markets, incidentally, the government has chosen to export products with added value (aluminum rather than bauxite and chicken rather

than corn). Doing so increases export billings and creates more jobs within the country.

In order to reduce costs today, it is not enough to hit the accelerator of credit expansion and utilize industry's idle capacity as Delfim did in 1967. It is also necessary to pay attention to the social side, which is untouched by the existing financial mechanisms, and that is what FINSOCIAL intends to do.

11798

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## BRASPETRO SIGNS PROTOCOL FOR OIL PROSPECTING IN GUYANA

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 23 Jun 82 p 28

[Text] Brasilia--BRASPETRO [Petrobras International, Inc] is to cooperate with Guyana in creating a state petroleum enterprise and also exploring for petroleum in the Tacutu Basin, an area 40 kilometers from the border with Brazil and claimed by Venezuela since Guyana gained freedom from Great Britain. The announcement was made yesterday by Mines and Energy Ministry experts shortly after Mines and Energy Minister Cesar Cals signed a protocol of intentions with Guyana's mines and energy minister, Hubert Jack, which provides for technical cooperation in the energy sector, including construction of hydroelectric power plants, production of hydrous alcohol and exploration and refining of petroleum.

The Tacutu Basin oil was discovered by Home Oil, a Canadian company that continues to be interested in exploration. The Guyana government, however, prefers the exploration to be done by BRASPETRO because, if Brazil has an economic interest in the area, the Venezuela government will think twice before provoking conflict there. According to the agreement it signed with Venezuela in 1972, the last deadline for the Guyana Government to enter the area or renegotiate the agreement was last June.

The well drilled by Home Oil in the Tacutu Basin is producing 400,000 barrels a day of top-quality oil, according to Mines and Energy Ministry experts. This production could reach 1 million barrels daily, according to Home Oil estimates. The Tacutu Basin covers part of the Brazilian territory where Petrobras has been prospecting.

Minister Hubert Jack told journalists that Guyana intends to negotiate with Brazil for refining the Tacutu oil in Manaus, because it is easier to reach than Georgetown, the capital of Guyana, where its own refinery is located.

## Bridge

Hubert Jack asked Transportation Minister Cloraldino Severo to urge the Brazilian Government to accelerate evaluation of the project for building a bridge over the Tacutu River, the border between the two countries.

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CSO: 3001/170

## AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION EXPECTED TO DECLINE IN 1982

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 19 Jun 82 p 32

[Text] Rio de Janeiro--Unlike last year, agricultural production this year is likely to decline, with a small increase in livestock production that will not make up for a drop in crop output. The coffee crop, which has a predominant share of agricultural output, is likely to fall 48 percent, while grain output will increase only about 3 percent. Agriculture will thus have a negative contribution to the 1982 GDP [Gross Domestic Product], according to economist Tito Ryff, chief of the agriculture analysis group at the Getulio Vargas Foundation [FGV].

According to Ryff, the coffee crop, which was 35.7 million bags last year, fell to 17.5 million. Livestock production continues to increase slightly, thanks to beef production and due to the slaughter of breeding cows because the frosts reduced pasturage area in the southern part of the country. Prices are low, which is also a disincentive to dairy farmers. Poultry production, mainly chicken, which has a shorter cycle, is already adjusting its supply to the price decline and is likely to increase less than it did last year.

Grain-crop prospects can be considered good, although soybeans have been disappointing, with original forecasts of 15 million tons now adjusted to a harvest of 13.3 million tons. There has been some progress in rice, with a crop of 9.5 million tons, compared with production of 8.2 million tons in the 1981 crop year, when it suffered the effects of a prolonged dry spell in the Center-West and drought in the Northeast. Corn output will increase about 600,000 tons over the previous crop.

The FGV grain-crop forecast is for 51.4 million tons this year, compared with 49.9 million last year, a 3-percent increase. The FGV forecast differs from that of the Production Financing Commission, which also includes rapeseed, linseed, sunflower seed, cottonseed and buckwheat.

A feature that catches the attention of Tito Ryff is that the cultivated area has not been increasing in recent years. The high point occurred in the 1979-80 crop year, when the policy of granting priority to agriculture was initiated, with more remunerative minimum prices, VBC (Basic Operating Cost), readjusted above the rate of inflation. Even so, during that period expansion of the cultivated area was only 2.3 percent, showing that expansion of the agricultural frontier in the South and Southeast regions has ended and incorporation of new agricultural frontiers in the Center-West and North have not yet had any impact. In Tito Ryff's opinion, increased output will be obtained only with higher yields.

Another observation about the agriculture sector is that, after 2 years of extremely poor harvests in 1978 and 1979, when the grain crop sank to 36.5 million tons and 40.3 million tons respectively, grain production responded to the government's incentives and subsidies, reaching 51 million in 1980. But it has remained stationary on that plateau for 3 years, indicating that the agriculture-support policy is running up against the limitations imposed by monetary policy, according to Ryff.

Crop forecasts for this year are as follows, compared with last year:

		Quantidade de grãos (em mil toneladas)		Area colhida (em hectares)	
		(1)		(2)	
Produtos (3)		1981	1982	1981	1982
Amendoim (4)		354,8	346,5	242.277	229.942
Arroz (5)		8.260,5	9.557,3	6.065.701	5.962.084
Aveia (6)		98,4	61,3	84.192	58.829
Centeio (7)		24,4	3,6	24.125	3.443
Cevada (8)		109,4	65,0	95.482	55.408
Feijão (9)		2.338,7	3.003,9	5.029.803	5.561.122
Mamona (10)		278,0	298,8	433.308	470.269
Milho (11)		21.098,3	21.774,1	11.490.749	12.795.033
Soja (12)		14.978,0	13.357,7	8.484.809	8.214.818
Sorgo (13)		212,2	203,0	91.702	116.045
Trigo (14)		2.209,3	2.781,0	1.919.634	1.152.069
Totais (15)		49.962,0	51.452,2	33.991.782	34.619.062

Key:

1. Quantity of grain (in thousands of tons)
2. Harvested area (in hectares)
3. Products
4. Peanuts
5. Rice
6. Oats
7. Rye
8. Barley
9. Black beans
10. Castor oil
11. Corn
12. Soybeans
13. Sorghum
14. Wheat
15. Totals

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## NETTO HOLDS TRADE TALKS WITH USSR OFFICIALS

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 23 Jun 82 p 28

[Text] Planning Minister Delfim Netto told a group of Soviet representatives yesterday that Brazil hopes the Soviet Union will soon decide about purchasing Brazilian manufactured goods in exchange for the purchase of Soviet equipment for the Ilha Grande hydroelectric plant to be built in Parana.

Delfim told Tikhon Kiselev of the Presidium and Grigoriy Vashchenko, chairman of the Budget and Planning Commission of the Supreme Soviet, leaders of the Soviet mission, that the Brazilian Government's proposal is to increase Soviet-Brazil trade from \$600 million to \$1 billion annually in the short run.

"Our intention," Delfim said, "is not simply to increase our trade surplus with the Soviet Union, but to increase aggregate trade in both directions." He analyzed trade activity between the two countries, expressing the hope that the next meeting of the Joint Brazil-USSR Commission, which will meet next July in Brasilia, will make progress on the list of industrialized products that Brazil would like to export and which has been ready since July 1981.

The planning minister told the Soviet representatives that the Brazilian Government has encouraged private businessmen to increase trade with the Soviet Union and that to some extent Brazil's surplus in bilateral trade reflects a greater response on the Brazilian part.

Kiselev, speaking on behalf of the group, said he agrees with the planning minister's statements, asserting that he would convey his remarks to members of the Soviet Government.

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## MILITARY UNDERTAKES REASSESSMENT

PY071819 Sao Paulo VEJA in Portuguese 30 Jun 82 pp 74-77, 81, 82, 84

[Special report: "The Shock of the War"]

[Text] Alerted by the conflict over the Malvinas, the Brazilian armed forces have begun a reequipment process, although they prefer to produce rather than to import.

The war over the Malvinas, "the most important military event in recent years," according to Gen Octavio Costa, deputy chief of the Army Training and Research Department, has prompted an important change in the Brazilian armed forces. During the past 3 months, while British and Argentine forces were fighting in the South Atlantic, the army, navy and air force high commands held separate meetings on four occasions, logging a total of 20 hours of assessment over what was happening in the Malvinas, and especially the lessons which Brazil should be drawing from that war. And although defeated, Argentina taught the generals, admirals and major generals that it was sufficiently equipped to win the first battles in a hypothetical war with Brazil. Exocet missiles, abundant radar, an effective air force and a well-organized communications system demonstrated that Brazil, facing an adversary such as Argentina, could recover its offensive capacity only through a rapid mobilization of the Sao Paulo industrial park.

That electrical shock, generated by the sight of the Argentine arsenal, and especially, by the known deficiencies of the Brazilian arsenal, has led the three military ministers in their recent meetings with President Figueiredo to reopen the issue of reequipping the armed forces. Navy Minister Maximiano da Fonseca proposed a \$15 billion program (one-fourth of the country's foreign debt) by 1990. He released \$2 billion provided for in the budget and earned the nickname of "little golden galley," given by Figueiredo himself, but he will argue again that the navy is not in a position to patrol the 7,500 km of national coast.

Aeronautics Minister Maj Gen Delio Jardim de Mattos has accelerated some projects already underway, such as the Piranha missile--capable of following an aircraft seeking the heat produced by the engine--and the Brazilian subsonic fighter plane, the AMX.

Army Minister Walter Pires has accelerated the modernization of the old M-41 tanks without any major arguments. In talks with friends, he complained about the difficult situation the armed forces are experiencing, inhibited from requesting special resources from a president who came from the armed forces. According to Pires, the armed forces are committed to Figueiredo's social program and cannot exert pressure by demanding more money. Trapped in a similar situation, Gen Alacyr Frederico Werner, chief of the armed forces staff, stated: "Rearmament is something which has to be done by a civilian."

#### Few Hours of Firing

In fact, each of the 120 million Brazilians pays only approximately 3,058 cruzeiros per year to maintain a military apparatus of 272,000 men in arms, which is in fact very little compared with other countries (see chart on page 81). And the confrontation in the Malvinas has demonstrated that it can be insufficient in the future, and what occasions the most worry is that this apparatus is showing some deficiencies now.

Adm Raphael de Azevedo Branco, director of navy materiel, believes that within the next 3 years Brazil will drop to fourth place in the list of South American naval firepower, losing out to Argentina, Venezuela and Peru. In the 3d army, the largest military unit in the country, headquartered in Porto Alegre, as of last week there was not a single missile. An officer of the ordnance industry [IMBEL] stated that if the Brazilian ground forces had to engage in an armed confrontation, they would have ammunition only for 6 hours.

Six hours was precisely the firepower time of the air force in 1970, according to an accusation made in a press conference held on Tuesday by Col Leuzinger Marques Lima, head of the Air Force Surface Transport Division. Violating the military norms of discipline, the colonel made a public statement criticizing the army, and by Tuesday afternoon he had already been punished with 15 days imprisonment by Gen Jardim de Mattos. After all, it is better to have an ill-equipped air force than an undisciplined one.

Outside the public debate, the guidelines of the Brazilian rearmament project have already been drawn up by President Figueiredo himself. The first of these guidelines shows a preference for investments in national production. In view of this, the Brazilian Air Force [FAB] will receive 80 AMX fighter planes in 1986, produced by the Brazilian Aeronautics Company [EMBRAER] in partnership with the Italian Company Aeromacchi. The navy's arsenal in Rio de Janeiro will launch a new training ship to supersede the old Custodio de Mello, whose band last week played in the grandstands at the game between Brazil and New Zealand. The army will also benefit from production of the Urutu, Cascavel and Jararaca armored vehicles manufactured by Engesa [Specialized Engineers, Inc], the foremost Sao Paulo arms manufacturer which exported approximately \$60 million worth of products last year. Unfortunately for the army, the armored vehicles turned over to the domestic market do not have the same quality as those exported, and their gear systems do not generate much confidence.

## Historical Mistake

Furthermore, just because military equipment is produced in Brazil does not mean a complete savings in dollars. The weapons control system on Corvettes being built by the navy will cost the equivalent of \$90 million, of which \$84 million will be spent on devices imported from Great Britain. The important thing in that strategy is the decision to have less dependence on foreign suppliers. "To purchase abroad was the error committed by the Argentines," said Flavio Bernardini, director of Bernardini Research Incorporated, the Sao Paulo factory which has helped to modernize the old army tanks. "They had a project for the production of Argentine medium-size tanks--TAM--in cooperation with the FRG, but they did not achieve 5 percent of the number projected. Almost half of the \$37 billion of the Argentine foreign debt was spent in purchasing weapons. Now they have realized that the Brazilian option is in fact better," Bernardini concluded.

In fact, the Argentine military junta, based on a strategy which turned out to be aggressive, developed a project based on a reasonable supposition, that it would achieve victories in a rapid confrontation, and on a historical mistake, that its adversaries would rather negotiate a truce. Since the British fleet sailed down to the South Atlantic to fight, the Buenos Aires offensive strategy turned out to be a disaster. "A country is armed in the same manner in which a person is dressed. It must first of all know where it wants to go. Without knowing this, you will go to sleep with your suit on and go to work with your pajamas on. The weapons of a country must reflect how it wants to project its power," a former chief of staff stated.

It is on this point that the issue of reequipment reaches its decisive aspect, because if the "importing" trend has practically been halted today, the scope of national production has not yet been clearly established. Planalto Palace and the ministers agree on generalities, such as the need to invest in technology or to form ventures with foreign companies willing to turn over patents, but the basic guidelines have not yet been established. The difficulties begin in the differences of opinion among each of the branches. Thus, constant complaints are heard both in the FAB and in the navy, that the equation  $A = N + AF$  has been in effect since the beginning of the 1970's. In this equation, A represents the army, whose power must always be equal to or greater than the sum of N (navy) and AF (air force). Moreover, AF does not want N to develop a naval air force and for this reason the purchase of Harrier airplanes for the aircraft carrier Minas Gerais was vetoed. After the Malvinas war, there are doubts within the air force regarding the need to build frigates or to equip aircraft carriers, "\$200 million ships that can be sunk by \$200,000 missiles," as a major general said.

## Warning

If the Malvinas has opened a flank in the theory of naval war, it has also touched one of the stars of the FAB: Its Mirage airplanes, six of which were lost during the past 8 years, leaving a squadron originally made up of 16 aircraft with a handicap. Col Oziris Silva, president and main

instigator of EMBRAER, feels that it is a much better business to invest in the national project of the AMX. "The Malvinas war has proven that the supersonic fighters such as the Mirage are very limited, because their fuel consumption is proportional to the square of the speed, which allows them to fly only for 20 minutes. If the Argentines had had subsonic fighters such as the AMX, they would have had better results."

But the Malvinas war has not only been important for the Brazilian armed forces because of the display of weapons and tactics. The war was especially valuable because it allowed us to verify that South America is not, by definition, a continent free of war. And it is this verification which is generating criticism in several Brazilian military garrisons, especially when the lack of equipment assumes gross proportions. The air force is dissatisfied with its squadron for patrolling the coast, which today is made up only of the Bandeirante EMB-111 planes. In different armored cavalry brigades there are M-41 tanks which have no communications with others because the radio equipment in some is old while that of others is new. By orders of Gen Walter Pires, the maneuvers involving consumption of fuel have been reduced to the minimum, and some small army units are training with caliber "reducers" for cannons and mortars. This "reducer" allows the launching of a rifle bullet through the cannon of an artillery piece. Since an artillery round costs up to 500,000 cruzeiros and since the bullet only costs a few hundred cruzeiros, the soldiers learn to use the equipment at a much lower cost. Firing of live rounds occurs only once a year in the army. After all, the Brazilian ordnance industry (IMBEL) factory needs only 1 hour to produce the whole year's order of charges for Boford anti-aircraft guns.

The first stage of revision of the defensive system will inevitably lead to an improvement of these distortions. Only then, in a second stage, will nationally produced equipment reach the troops. Then there will be fragmentation bombs, capable of releasing 144 smaller bombs, there will be the infrared night sights capable of offering complete night vision (one of the most effective weapons the British used in the final attack on the Malvinas) and other modern devices in this area.

#### Professional Army

But who is going to deal with that arsenal? A decision as crucial as the origin of the equipment will emerge from the answer to this question, and so far, it is not even known yet whether the top military command is discussing the issue in depth. Of the 274,000 men in arms in Brazil, 113,000 are conscripts, 18- or 19-year-old youths who serve for 1 year, receiving merely satisfactory training and returning immediately to their homes as reserves. In the Malvinas war, when the British Army made up of professional soldiers was deployed against the 8,000 conscripts at Port Stanley, one of the greatest military surrenders since the world war took place. The conscripts simply did not want to fight.

The existence of the two types of soldiers pointed out, it must be noted, that Brazil has very few professional soldiers. In the army, of 182,000 men, 110,000 are there only for 1 year and only one type of unit works as

professionals: The paratroop brigade which comprises the army's elite troops. In this respect, the navy, weak because of its few ships, displays a tremendous force with 12,000 marines. Strangely enough, the Marine Corps, where the best trained soldiers of the Brazilian Armed Forces can be found, only managed to put one admiral in the Figueiredo government.

While the army is studying a 20,000 man troop increase, a general headquartered in Brasilia stated: "We are not going to have a completely professional army, because the morale of professional soldiers tends to flag because they lack idealism. But at the same time we cannot continue with an army almost completely made up of recruits. After all, the operator of a tank needs 3 years of training." Maj Gen Lauro Ney Menezes, director of the Aerospace Technology Center [CTA], states: "There are advantages and disadvantages in the professionalization of the army." The Brazilian military structure in the 1980's is quite different from that which existed before World War II, when any young man could learn how to shoot and when all rifles were cheap. At that time, for example, a fighter plane cost approximately \$50,000, today an air force officer who sits on the cockpit of a Mirage is flying a \$16 million machine.

#### Fright Over the War

Some generals feel that the ideal thing would be to create a force for quick reaction, with soldiers who would serve for 4 or 5 years. This force would thus reinforce today's troops, based especially on a paratroop brigade and on some armored units. To achieve this, the armed forces must have the essential elements: The officers. There are approximately 30,000 officers and they leave the three military academies with a level of training enviable for the Third World.

Any discussion around national defense inevitably touches the subject of the mission given to the armed forces. "The Brazilian Navy has 42,000 men, but only 20 or 25 percent are dedicated to a given objective," according to Adm (ret) Joao Carlos Goncalves Caminha, former commander of the 5th naval district. He states: "When I joined the navy, there were between 200 and 250 officials at the Marcilio Dias Hospital, that is, less than the number of a destroyer's crew. Today the number of officials in the hospital is twice that of the crew of the aircraft carrier Minas Gerais, which totals 1,000 men."

Goncalves Caminha does not take the discussion on the re-equipment of the armed forces very seriously. He states: "To achieve rearmament there must be a political willingness, which does not exist. What does exist is the fright over the Malvinas war. Who is talking about rearmament? In addition to the press, only a few officials, and this because it has been discovered that we have a neighbor which has demonstrated in that episode an aggressiveness and tremendous military preparation. To make things worse, there is no consensus regarding the procedure to be followed. According to the Brazilian people, the threat is in this very continent, while some sectors of the government and of public opinion, more specifically the left, feel that the threat is in Western Europe. Thus, without a political willingness, it is impossible to talk about rearmament."

## Security System

The key to the question lies in finding out where the threat is. In Argentina for example, a long time ago it was discovered that the threat was inside the country, and thus, a repressive system was developed within the armed forces. The result was the annihilation of the left, the suppression of politics and the hypertrophy of military power. That power, after an incorrect evaluation of the international situation, pushed the country into a humiliating defeat.

By an irony of history, the first Argentine officer to surrender without fighting the British was Capt Carlos Astiz, commander of the garrison in the South Georgia Islands, and previously one of the most active interrogators of political prisoners and head of antiterrorist operations. In Brazil, if the hypertrophy of military power did not take place, hypertrophy of the security system within the armed forces did take place, and particularly the overwhelming presence of the army within that system, especially in the National Intelligence Service [SNI].

If national defense---the older and more accurate term than national security---depends on discovering foreign threats, since Brazil has no territorial disputes with any country in the world the situation becomes much easier; the risk lies in a territorial invasion by some neighboring country (with 10 different neighbors, Brazil is the third largest country with the most territorial borders in the world after the Soviet Union and the PRC), or in a fantastic naval operation. In both cases the Brazilian military answer seems easy: "We are in the same situation as the PRC. You may attack, but you will not know what the outcome will be," a general stated. More than a year ago in the United States researchers at Georgetown University, where one of the best centers of strategic studies in the world is located, repeatedly asked the same question: "What would happen in the Parana Basin, where the Itaipu hydroelectric dam is being built, if an anti-Brazilian government emerges in Paraguay, and, at the same time, a government of the left emerges in Argentina?"

### "Domestic Mobilization"

The Brazilian answer has always been logical: First of all, Itaipu will produce electricity and not grenades. Moreover, there is not a single contract or a single gram of concrete in the dam which is not supported by international documents signed either with Argentina or with Paraguay. Therefore, neither of the two countries can argue that they have a national problem with Brazil. "But even though someone intends to make a case," an officer states, "more important than talking is making everyone understand that Brazil has the persuasive power to defend its territory. That is to say, that we must show that we have sufficient weapons and organizations to discourage any adventure."

Moreover, the old Roman dictate prevails: "Si vis pacem, para bellum" ("If you want peace, prepare for war"). Thus, in a necessary measure, but which is also indicative of its exorbitant functions, the SNI will coordinate throughout the month of July a quiet seminar which in military

jargon is called a "domestic mobilization." This seminar will mark the conclusion of work carried out for months, during which each ministry mobilized resources to study the necessary measures for a possible military mobilization, and especially, the capacity of the national apparatus to endure the demands of a situation of that nature. Thus, the Agriculture Ministry, for instance, engaged in detailing all the possible mobilization theories in the supply area.

And one gains the incentive of security at the moment when the issue of defense is out of the debate on purely military aspects. With a war materiel industry which already exported for more than \$1 billion last year, the country above all is displaying a vigorous infrastructure. "I am not going to talk about the sales of weapons," said Jose Luiz Whitaker Ribeiro, president of ENGESA and a pioneer in building military equipment. "But I can tell you that when the purchasers of weapons arrive in Brazil, our first meeting is always scheduled for the Terraco Italia Restaurant. It is not because the food there is good. It is because they can see Sao Paulo from there, from the 47th floor of the building."

#### Idle Capacity

Thanks to that vision and to its products, ENGESA has already sold light tanks to 30 countries. For more than 3 years it has been rare to find any 6-month period in which Brazilian exports have not offered new weapons to the world. During the next 90 days HELIBRAS [Brazilian Helicopters Inc] will offer to neighboring countries a military helicopter originating from the French Esquilo model and equipped like the Augusta-109--of Italian origin--used by the British in the Malvinas.

If it depends on the businessmen, the war industry will grow fast. "We should be in a position to make the weapons control systems for the Corvettes the navy is building," Commander Antonio Didier Vianna complained. Didier Vianna, who is president of the Brazilian Association of the Industry of Computers and Related Components [Associacao Brasileira de Industria de Computadores e Perifericos--ABICOMP], was accompanied by Adm Aniceto da Cruz Santos, president of the great Ishikawajima shipyards, who feels that the "participation of national private industry in the programs of naval construction is incipient because there is no expression of confidence in the enterprises."

The key to the interest of enterprises in a military reequipment plan, however, is offered by Claudio Bardella, vice president of the Brazilian Association for the Development of Basic Industries [ABDIB], an ardent defender of the call for a constituent assembly in the political field. According to him, the "reequipment program will be able to contribute in reducing idle capacity in the capital goods sector."

To improve the system of defense or to solve the problem of idle capacity in heavy industry, the military ministries will have to receive bigger slices of the budget from the very beginning. In 1981 the three branches received 316.2 billion cruzeiros, which is 7.1 percent of the national



budget and one-fourth of the percentage they received in 1956, when the government of President Juscelino Kubitschek purchased the aircraft carrier Minas Geraes. That was a time that has ended, the time of imported equipment (with their beautiful commissions) and of a defensive system which was limited to following the production of the most developed countries, with a delay of 20 years. Now, according to Michel Jan, a representative of the French military materiel industries in Rio de Janeiro, "It is difficult to sell anything to Brazil."

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## NAVY SUBMARINE CONSTRUCTION, EXOCET TALKS REPORTED

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 10 Jun 82 p 21

[Text] Sao Paulo--The navy will use technology from the FRG to build the first Brazilian submarine, construction of which will begin in the next 2 months. The contract is in the final phase of negotiation with the FRG, and the production line is being set up at the Navy Arsenal in Rio de Janeiro.

The program, which was announced by Minister of Navy Maximiano da Fonseca, calls for the work to reach its peak at the start of the second half of 1983. The minister announced that financing for the project has already been obtained (although he did not disclose the amount). He said that the submarine would use conventional diesel-electric propulsion, since that is the system best suited to the Brazilian Navy's technical and strategic circumstances.

"Weapon of the Future"

The project required several years of study, and only a few minor details now remain to be worked out. Minister Maximiano da Fonseca explained, however, that some phases of construction are underway and that the submarine's battery is being manufactured by Varta in Sao Paulo. A great many items will be produced by Brazilian Siemens. It has also been decided that ELETROMETAL will supply plates of a special alloy (code HY 180).

The local manufacturing content of the first unit will be low, but the level will rise rapidly in subsequent units. Their construction is part of the navy's reequipment and modernization program, which also calls for building four corvettes, three frigates, a buoy ship, and a training ship. The training ship will operate in Amazonia, and its local manufacturing content will total 76 percent.

The minister explained: "Unlike our navy's former shipbuilding programs, it is our intention that this one will not be interrupted. We have chosen a conventional model because, among other things, the only major advantage of a nuclear submarine is that it can stay submerged longer. Above all, the submarine is the weapon of the future, as can be seen from the Falklands conflict, in which two superequipped units tipped the balance of forces."

## Self-Sufficiency

During a speech to the Sao Paulo State Trade Association yesterday--from which the press was excluded--concerning the situation of the Brazilian Navy, Maximiano da Fonseca expressed concern about the gradual reduction in funds for his ministry. As he pointed out, about 10 percent of the Federal budget went to the navy in 1950, but the amount was down to 2.3 percent last year.

In his opinion, a naval attack on Brazil would have an effect "of incalculable cost" and one unlike situations in the past, when Brazil was forced to request help from its allies.

"Now we would have to have a naval force making foreign help unnecessary," he said.

To build an ideal navy for the country, the ministry would need \$1.5 billion annually for 10 years, "but at the moment, it has a budget of only \$800 million."

The minister also said during his speech that "Brazil's presence in the Antarctic must be encouraged." He announced that for that purpose, two Brazilian ships will soon visit the subantarctic region in preparation for incursions on a larger scale.

At the end of his talk, during the question-and-answer period, former Governor Paulo Maluf requested Maximiano da Fonseca's help in building the locks needed to make the Tiete River navigable. The minister expressed regret at not being able to help him because of the lack of funds, a situation that is also preventing his ministry from building a port in Natal, Rio Grande do Norte.

He went on to say that a 5-year, 7-billion-cruzeiro research program on seabed resources has not been provided with funds by the Planning Secretariat of the Presidency, even though the program was recently approved by the Office of the President.

## Brazil Now Has 20 Exocets

Sao Paulo--The Brazilian Armed Forces now have at least 20 French Exocet-type missiles that were ordered before 1977 (France has made no further arms sales to Brazil since 1978), according to information made available in Sao Paulo yesterday by Gen Pierre Sufflet, first vice president of AEROSPATIALE [National Industrial Aerospace Company].

In an interview following his luncheon address to businessmen invited by the Franco-Brazilian Chamber of Commerce, the French executive was unable to say what kind of missiles were purchased by Brazil (surface-to-air, surface-to-underwater, air-to-air, or underwater-to-air), but he said that the sale was part of a list of French arms sold to Brazil before 1978 and that according to that list, they were bought for "naval use."

## Vulnerability

According to General Sufflet, the success of the French missiles in the Falklands War has not yet had an effect on the sale of such weapons, since they are very expensive, with the result that market reaction is slower.

He said: "The vulnerability of big naval units to air force firepower was made evident in the Falklands War, but this is not really anything new. It has been known ever since the Egyptians sank an Israeli ship in the Mediterranean using a Soviet missile."

Gen Pierre Sufflet declined to give his official opinion concerning the effect of the disarmament policy on defense firms, but after making it clear that he was expressing a purely personal opinion, he said:

"It will not be easy (I am not saying it is impossible) to convert the industrial plant now set up to produce war materiel. After any war, there is always a greater awareness of the problem, but for the arms industry, which represents an industrial sector with the latest technology, disarmament as a short-term prospect is not a certainty."

## Good Impression

The first vice president of France's AEROSPATIALE was very favorably impressed with EMBRAER (Brazilian Aeronautics Company), whose facilities in Sao Jose dos Campos he visited on Monday (the French Aerospace Week in Brazil was being held in Sao Jose dos Campos).

"EMBRAER has found a niche in the market, and it is exploiting it very competently. Proof of that is the entry into the French market of Bandeirante and Xingu aircraft. The firm had the wisdom to develop a family of aircraft by going from the simpler models to the more complex, more or less as France did after the war."

Michel Garnier, head of the Export Department for the conglomerate of French aeronautical and space industries, chimed in: "In 1969, when we were last in Brazil, there was practically nothing at EMBRAER. Eight years later, the firm was already capable of exporting Bandeirantes and Xingus to France. As can be seen, therefore, its development has been spectacular."

Gen Pierre Sufflet explained that his mission in Brazil is a result of the new French policy of fostering programs for the training of technicians in an attempt to train a generation of engineers and specialists who will think about technology in French rather than Anglo-Saxon terms. The "French Week" was held in India and Indonesia before coming to Brazil.

AEROSPATIALE's first vice president concluded: "What we have in mind, not for the short term but over the long term, is a probable change in the mentality of technicians in the countries visited."

## Technicians Discuss Tactical Missile

Sao Paulo--Tactical missiles were again the topic of discussion at the first French Aerospace Week in Brazil, which was held at the CTA (Aerospace Technology Center) in Sao Jose dos Campos, as technicians from AEROSPATIALE and MATRA [Mechanics, Aviation, and Traction Company] talked about the French missiles that will be operational in the 1990's.

Those lectures concluded the meeting of French and Brazilian scientists. They were described by Air Force Gen Lauro Ney Menezes, director of the CTA, as being of "fundamental importance for bringing our technicians up to date on the most advanced concepts of technology and development in connection with military electronic products."

Engineers Claude Lemee of AEROSPATIALE and Gen Maurice Bret of MATRA gave a lengthy presentation concerning French missiles for the 1990's, stressing their tactical and strategic support function in the air as well as on land or sea. The French scientists emphasized that the missiles will be very complex technologically, being equipped with electronic countermeasures and computers that will take them directly to their target despite attempts at electronic deception.

The lectures were rounded out by engineer Polen Lloret, Robert Terres, and Jean Francois, who discussed the new generation of "avionics" (electronic equipment for aircraft) being produced by their firm (SAGEM [Company for General Applications of Electricity and Mechanics]), which will make it possible to integrate all the instruments on board an aircraft by means of a computer that will inform fighter plane pilots of the conditions it will require for an attack on a target.

Concluding the lectures were engineers Jean Coreau, Christian Reon, and Patric Jauffret, who discussed the development of that missile system for supersonic aircraft and techniques for piloting helicopters at night.

11798

CSO: 3001/168

## CASTRO SENDS MESSAGE TO NONALIGNED MEMBERS

FL052235 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2130 GMT 5 Jul 82

[Message sent by Cuban President Fidel Castro to the chiefs of state or government of the nonaligned countries as chairman of the movement--no date given]

[Text] With great concern we have received a message from Mr Ilyas Sarkis, president of the Republic of Lebanon, in which he appeals to our movement to safeguard the city of Beirut from the catastrophe that is approaching with the resulting massacre of the population.

As a continuation of previous requests, we reiterate our appeal to all nonaligned countries to make every effort aimed at checking the Zionist aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and achieving the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops from Lebanon.

Our movement cannot remain indifferent to this horrendous crime against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, and the condemnation must be unanimous and in such a way that the invaders will know that world consciousness will not allow it and that our peoples will respond with sufficient energy and determination.

We cannot allow that the aggressors continue to trample the most essential norms of international coexistence, and it is imperative that the might of our movement be felt as a decisive factor capable of checking the hand of the aggressor. In the city of Beirut, the Israeli forces are perpetrating a genocide not only against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, it is also a challenge to mankind which attempts against human sensibility.

The world should not allow this barbarian act which, in accordance with the agreements adopted in recent meetings of our movement, [passage indistinct] solidarity with and support for the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples as well as express the most severe condemnation to the Israeli aggressor.

Your excellency, please accept the token of my highest and most distinguished consideration.

(Signed) Fidel Castro Ruz  
Chairman of the Nonaligned Movement

CSO: 3010/1850

## REPORTAGE ON NATIONAL ASSEMBLY MEETING

## Activities of Second Day

FL031203 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 3 Jul 82

[Text] The draft of the National Assembly's rules was adopted during the second day of work of the first regular session of the highest body of state government. Flavio Bravo Pardo, member of Cuba's Communist Party Central Committee and president of the National Assembly, noted that this document and the electoral law which was approved earlier are indissolubly interrelated. He added that the two and the draft of the municipal and provincial assemblies' rules contribute to improve the bodies of the people's government.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, first secretary of Cuba's Communist Party Central Committee and president of the councils of state and ministers, and Army Gen Raul Castro, second secretary of our party and first vice president of the Council of state and government, attended the second day of sessions of the National Assembly.

The rules were adopted following the active participation of a large number of deputies during the evening session. The rules grant more authority to the executive committees of the municipal assemblies and to the presidents of these important bodies of state government as well as establish a new type of regulation reducing to twice a year, at least, the holding of regular sessions. Likewise, following a long period of deliberations, it was decided to reduce to twice per year the holding of assembly meetings for the delegates to report to the voters in their districts, and new and better forms for them to carry out their duties were defined.

During the debates on the duties of the executive committees of the municipal assemblies, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro expressed interest in the participation of the bodies of the people's government in selecting the administrative personnel of educational centers in each territory. Most of the presidents of the provincial executive committees who are also deputies gave detailed information on the participation of the municipal bodies in selecting principals and other cadres of rural secondary schools in coordination with the party at the corresponding levels.

In a speech at the meeting, Jose Ramon Fernandez, member of the Council of State and minister of education, explained the manner in which this activity is being developed in the various provinces, and noted that presently we have 1.2 students at the intermediate level.

#### Assembly Closes

PA041715 Paris AFP in Spanish 1600 GMT 4 Jul 82

[Text] Havana, 4 Jul (AFP)--The Cuban National Assembly has issued an appeal "to parliamentarians of all the world" to support "the just Argentine claims to the usurped territory" of the Malvinas Islands.

The archipelago "is an integral part of the territory of the Argentine republic whose sovereignty must be restored," the Cuban National Assembly declared on concluding its current period of sessions.

The Cuban legislative body condemned "the military aggression in the South Atlantic by the British armed forces with the complicity and support of the U.S. Government."

According to the declaration, the Malvinas conflict demonstrated that "the so-called Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and other mechanisms of the so-called inter-American system are instruments at the service of U.S. imperialism."

CSO: 3010/1851



## FURTHER DETAILS ON ANAP MEETING

FL021430 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1045 GMT 2 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Our commander in chief Fidel Castro, first secretary of the party Central Committee and president of the councils of state and ministers, and Army Gen Raul Castro, second secretary of the party and first vice president of the state and government, attended the first meeting of the second regular session of the People's Government National Assembly held yesterday at the Palace of Conventions. The following is a report covering yesterday's activities from our correspondents accredited to this very important meeting.

During the morning session the deputies approved the minutes of the previous session, ratified the law decrees and resolutions adopted by the Council of State and, after a debate, approved the agricultural-livestock cooperatives law. This law, which has its roots in [Fidel Castro's] "history will absolve me," the agrarian reform law, theses on the agrarian question and relations with the peasants approved by our party's first congress, conforms with the topics examined and debated in the recently-held Sixth Congress of the ANAP [National Association of Small Farmers]. Its aim is to regulate, among other things, cooperatives and their purpose, requirements for membership, ownership and patrimony, lands, methods and means of production and funds.

During the course of the meeting to approve the law, one much-debated topic was the cooperatives' union. This new method of production was not covered by the law because of its relatively-new experience and they expect to accumulate all the information necessary to prepare legislation. However, there are very positive results in this connection. At present there are unions of this kind in places such as Consolacion Del Sur, San Antonio de Los Banos, El Valle de Caujeri, Las Tunas Municipality, Palma Soriano Municipality and others.

Another law discussed and approved yesterday was the electoral law. It covers substantive and procedural rules, establishes the municipal electoral commissions and all connected with the electoral process and recalls, establishes the minimum of 75 delegates to make up the provincial assemblies and classifies current16-held elections into three groups--general, local and special.

The electoral law authorizes the National Electoral Commission to adjust the voting hours in exceptional cases as needed. It also defines that the delegate elected in a special district will continue as such when the [special district] is moved from the municipality, transferring with it. Yesterday, the ANPP was informed of the report liquidating the state budget for 1981.

Jorge Lezcano, vice president of the ANPP, announced a statement by the Cuban parliamentary group to all parliamentary groups in the world and to the members of the interparliamentary union. The statement denounces the criminal Israeli invasion of Lebanon with the support of the United States.

[Begin Lezcano recording] We call on all parliamentarians to make every effort possible to prevent any further bloodshed, and give the PLO, the Palestinian people and the Lebanese people's organizations, all the material, political and diplomatic support needed to prevent that, before the very eyes of all mankind and with complete impunity, Beirut and other Lebanese cities be totally destroyed and the Lebanese and Palestinian combatants and civilians be massacred.

We Cuban parliamentarians declare that criminal actions, such as those carried out by Israel, constitute an obstacle against reaching a climate leading to world peace, disarmament and easing of international tension--the just aspiration of all peoples. [End recording]

Today at 0900, the second regular session of the ANPP will continue its work. During the day the assembly is expected to hear a report analyzing the country's light industry.

CSO: 3010/1851

REPORTAGE ON VISITING PDRY DELEGATION

Cooperation Protocol Signed

FL022052 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2007 GMT 2 Jul 82

[Text] The protocol to the fourth session of the Cuban-Yemeni Intergovernmental Committee for Scientific-Technical Cooperation has been concluded here at the Sierra Maestra Hotel's protocol room.

Manuel Gutierrez, acting minister president of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation, and Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas, minister of installations of the PDRY, signed the document for their respective governments.

Gutierrez declared that important cooperation objectives were achieved in the areas of fishing, construction, public health, foreign trade, agriculture, education, tourism, labor and social security.

The Yemeni minister said, for his part, that his delegation was pleased with the results of the committee's work, which led to the protocol that will prove so beneficial for the two sides.

Construction Talks Reported

FL061507 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1413 GMT 6 Jul 82

[Text] Official talks began in this capital to analyze the prospects for cooperation in the area of construction between Cuba and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY]. Levi Farah, Cuban minister without portfolio, and Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas, member of the PDRY Central Committee and minister of installations, are chairing the talks.

The meeting, held in a fraternal atmosphere, complies with relations between the two countries and basically deals with cooperation through commercial means.

CSO: 3010/1858

## WASHINGTON, PRETORIA DELAY NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE

PA080316 Havana International Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 7 Jul 82

["World Events" commentary]

[Text] Everytime a nation in the world tries to free itself from colonialism and imperialism through any means of struggle within its reach, the capitalist powers invariably use every political, economic, diplomatic and even military resource they can to prevent this from happening.

An example of this imperialist policy is the case of southern Africa where the main Western capitalist countries have come together to prevent or delay as much as possible the full liberation of the men and women who live there. This is what happened when Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola tried to obtain their independence and this is what is happening now when the Namibian people are fighting to get rid of the yoke of slavery and colonialism imposed by the racist South African regime on this rich territory illegally occupied by Pretoria.

The successive UN resolutions and agreements demanding that South Africa begin the decolonization of Namibia have been useless. The so-called contact group made up of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the FRG and Canada is not only inadequate for speeding up the Namibian liberation process but is deliberately delaying its outcome.

This situation further deteriorated after Ronald Reagan took office in the United States, because the collusion between Washington and Pretoria is trying to lead the negotiations to a path in keeping with the imperialist and colonialist interests of the two governments, that is, Namibia's subjection and unconditional surrender to the socioeconomic policy outlined by the White House and its South African ally.

The U.S. president is trying to link the negotiations for Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops stationed in Angola at the request of the legitimate and sovereign Government of Luanda. Regarding this, Dean Fisher, U.S. State Department spokesman, last week reiterated Washington's position in order to plant a specific idea in the minds of the public: That the Cuban and Angolan governments are the obstacles to the solution of the Namibian problem.

Nothing could be more farfetched. The Cuban internationalist combatants are in Angolan territory because the Angolan people and government want them to contribute to the defense of that African country and to promote the peaceful development of that nation. The Cuban presence has prevented the South African aggressors from invading expanses of land which are larger than those they are already occupying in southern Angola, where they are illegally imposing their racist laws and are implementing a policy of destruction and death. The pretexts that Washington and Pretoria are using to keep from seeking a peaceful solution to the situation in Namibia are clearly demonstrating that the two governments are trying to delay the process for independence in that African country. This independence could be easily obtained if UN Security Council Resolution No 435 were applied. This resolution demands South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia and free elections.

But in reality, Washington and Pretoria are not only determined to continue the illegal occupation of Namibia but to undermine the foundation of the Angolan Government in an attempt to change the balance of forces in southern Africa in favor of imperialism. This balance of forces is tilting toward socialism since Angola gained independence in 1975. For this reason, the struggle for independence in southern Africa is going through a dangerous stage which includes the political maneuvers of the Western contact group led by the United States and South Africa's military preparations to increase the aggression against Namibian patriots in southern Angola.

CSO: 3010/1859

## BRIEFS

CASTRO TALKS WITH JOSE FIGUERES--Our commander in chief, Fidel Castro, president of the councils of state and ministers, has received in his office former Costa Rican President Jose Figueres. The meeting, which took place in an open and cordial atmosphere, dealt with political and economic matters, especially the present crisis in Central America and the Caribbean and its impact. During his stay in our country, the former Costa Rican president visited Los Naranjos Genetic Center, the Alamar housing project and the World Economic Research Center. Figueres also met with Jose R. Fernandez, vice president of the Council of Ministers and minister of education. [Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish at 1131 GMT on 5 July, in a similar report, adds that Manuel Pineiro, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and head of its Americas department, and Roberto Marques, chief of one of the department's sections, were present at the Castro-Figueres meeting.] [Text] [FL051237 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1002 GMT 5 Jul 82]

POLISH LEADERS' CONDOLENCES OVER FLOODING--Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, and Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, have sent a message of solidarity to Fidel. The message stresses the Polish people's sorrow over the losses caused by recent floods in our country. [Text] [FL051320 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1003 GMT 5 Jul 82]

STATEMENTS BY VENEZUELAN LEADERS--(Aristides Calvani), Ramon Escovar and Simon Consalvi, former Venezuelan foreign ministers, have stated that the normalization of relations between Venezuela and Cuba is convenient, beneficial and necessary for the two peoples and regions. President Luis Herrera Campins, Defense Minister (Marbaes Turion) and leaders of several political parties have made similar statements, stressing the need for unity among all Latin American countries. [Text] [FL031251 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 3 Jul 82]

ICAP MEETS WITH POLISH AMBASSADOR--At the main offices of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with Peoples [ICAP], Rene Rodriguez Cruz, member of Cuba's Communist Party Central Committee and president of the institution, has met with Stanislaw Jarzabek, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to Cuba. During the talks, which were held in a fraternal atmosphere, topics of mutual interest were discussed. [Text] [FL051841 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1816 GMT 5 Jul 82]

JUAN BOSCH ARRIVES FOR UNEAC CONGRESS--Former Dominican President Juan Bosch has arrived at the Jose Marti International Airport to attend the Third Congress of the National Union of Cuban Writers and Artists [UNEAC] as a guest. The UNEAC Congress will open tomorrow at the Palace of Conventions. Mariano Rodriguez, president of Casa de Las Americas, and Angel Augier, vice president of the UNEAC, welcomed the prestigious Latin American intellectual, who wrote the book "De Cristobal Colon a Fidel Castro" [From Christopher Columbus to Fidel Castro]. Bosch is part of the delegation of artists from all over the world attending the congress. [Text] [FL061741 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 6 Jul 82]

FIGUERES TOURS COUNTRY--Former Costa Rican President Jose Figueres has departed for his country after a 6-day visit to Havana where he visited various centers of social and economic interest and held talks with Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Figueres, 66, granted an exclusive interview to Radio Reloj minutes before boarding a plane to Nicaragua and later to Costa Rica. The former president said that he is against the U.S. blockade of Cuba and asserted that he considered the attempt to cut off Cuba from the rest of Latin America as absurd. He said that we Latin Americans are united by hardships, stressing that we are very weak and need to seek unity. Jose Figueres said he was very pleased about his meetings with Fidel and very happy with his visit to Cuba. He said that his talks with Fidel covered various topics of interest to the peoples such as the possibilities of reducing tensions in Central America without reversing the process of social change. Elsewhere he noted that the United States had turned its back on Latin America in the Malvinas conflict and denounced the British attitude as the purest form of 19th century colonialism. Jose Figueres said that he continued to support the Sandinist government because it is making an effort to build a new society and described its leaders as very intelligent young men. [Text] [FL071322 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 0945 GMT 7 Jul 82]

CONDOLENCES RECEIVED FROM NICARAGUA--Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruction and the Council of State have sent messages of condolences on the occasion of the death of the outstanding Cuban revolutionary, Dr Raul Roa Garcia. The former foreign minister and former president of Cuba's People's Government National Assembly visited Nicaraguala last November at the invitation of that country's Council of State. In the message to Cuban President Fidel Castro, Nicaragua's Junta of Government of National Reconstruction notes that in solidarity with the grief of the Cuban people and government and on behalf of Nicaragua's people and government, we wish to convey our deepfelt feelings of sorrow for the lamentable death of Comrade Raul Roa. In the message of the Nicaraguan Council of State, it is noted: It is a lamentable loss not only for the Cuban people, but also for our people and all peoples struggling for liberation. [Text] [FL080106 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 8 Jul 82]

MEXICAN BUSINESS DELEGATION--The Cuban Chamber of Commerce has hosted a cocktail party in honor of a delegation headed by Pablo Garcia Barbachano, head of the Central American and Caribbean section of the Mexican Businessmen Committee for International Affairs. Garcia Barbachano is attending the third plenary session of the Cuban-Mexican Entrepreneurial Committee

meeting at the Habana Libre Hotel. Vice Foreign Trade Ministers Amadeo Blanco and Manuel Estefania, Chamber President Jose M. Diaz Mirabal and Cubaniquel [Cuban Enterprise for the Export of Minerals and Metals] President Walter S. Leo attended the reception. Leo heads the Cuban delegation to the talks. [FL061730 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1600 GMT 6 Jul 82]

ALMEIDA, MILIAN, RODRIGUEZ DECORATED--The committees for the defense of the revolution have awarded the 28th September medal to Politburo members Juan Almeida and Arnaldo Milian Castro. [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1400 GMT 6 Jul 82] Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Politburo and vice president of the Council of State, has received the Enrique Hart medal awarded by the National Trade Union of Public Administration Workers for 25 years or more of distinguished service. [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1600 GMT 6 Jul 82]

ALGERIAN INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATED--The close ties of friendship that bind Cuba and the Democratic and popular Republic of Algeria were highlighted at the main ceremony in Havana to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Algerian independence. Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca and Algerian Ambassador to Cuba Bachir Ould-Rouis spoke at the ceremony. They both asserted that cooperation between the two nations was becoming stronger and dwelt on the history of the anticolonial and anti-imperialist struggle that the two countries undertook to achieve independence. Armando Hart, member of the Politburo and minister of culture; Jesus Montane, alternate member of the Politburo; and Lionel Soto, member of the secretariat, also presided over the ceremony along with other Central Committee members and representatives of the diplomatic corps. [Text] [FL061044 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 6 Jul 82]

AMBASSADOR TO GUINEA--The Council of State has appointed Comrade Colmon Ferrer Figueroa as Cuba's extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador to the People's Republic of Guinea. At the time of his appointment, Comrade Ferrer Figueroa was holding the post of adviser at the Cuban Embassy in Zimbabwe. [Text] [FL071735 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1210 GMT 7 Jul 82]

CSO: 3010/1850



COUNTRY SECTION

EL SALVADOR

BRIEFS

NEW BRIGADE COMMANDER--Col Ramon Arturo Morales Ruiz is the new commander of the 6th infantry brigade based in Gotera, Morazan Department. He replaces Col Salvador Beltran Luna, who died in a recent airplane accident. [PA062059 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 29 Jun 82 pp 2, 13 PA]

CSO: 3010/1856

## BRIEFS

CONDOLENCES SENT TO CUBA--The Grenada-Cuba Friendship Society has sent a message of condolences to the government and people of Cuba on the death of former Foreign Relations Minister Raul Roa. The former minister in the revolutionary government of Cuba died yesterday following a prolonged illness. He was 75 years old. Comrade Roa, whose last official post was that of president of the Cuban National Assembly was [word indistinct] for his part in the revolutionary struggle of the Cuban people, and in 1945 was forced to flee Cuba. Following the Cuban revolution in 1959, Comrade Roa was appointed ambassador to the Organization of American States. [Excerpt] [FL080050 St Georges Domestic Service in English 2300 GMT 7 Jul 82]

CSO: 3025/1119

RIOS MONTT SENDS MESSAGE TO UN DISARMAMENT MEETING

PA061602 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 29 Jun 82 p 4

[Statement sent by Guatemalan President Gen Efraim Rios Montt to the UN conference on disarmament; date not given]

[Text] Guatemala, whose people and government have a deeply peace-loving spirit, feels it advisable to express its view to this forum, which has been convened to discuss all matters related to disarmament.

Guatemala believes that the disarmament campaign is vital for world peace, the development of states and the prosperity of peoples.

We must openly reveal the dangers that the continuation of the arms race entail and we must dispel the hope that peace and security can coexist with the huge numbers of destructive weapons that have been accumulated.

A general and complete ban on the use of nuclear weapons is of extreme importance, since this aids in reducing the risk of a nuclear war, which would mean a holocaust for humankind.

My country believes that atomic energy should only be used for peaceful purpose and to benefit humankind.

Guatemala also believes that a lasting peace can only be achieved through a general and complete disarmament, under effective and strict international controls, and not through a balance of weapons between the great powers.

Disarmament has been one of the objectives proclaimed by the United Nations for the past 3 decades, but despite the many initiatives taken by the organization the world is still experiencing an uncontrolled arms race.

Although disarmament primarily involve the great powers, Guatemala also believes that sophisticated weapons should be eliminated in Latin America, as a way of contributing to world disarmament and of increasing investments in economic and social development.

The Tlatelolco Treaty, which Guatemala has signed, is a very useful instrument by which to prevent Latin America from becoming a depository of nuclear arms or an atomic testing ground.

I feel it advisable to stress that it is very important that the highly industrialized countries understand that if, instead of allocating huge sums of money to the production of weapons of mass destruction, they used those resources to assist poor countries in their process of full and harmonious development, the great scourges of hunger, unemployment, malnutrition, illiteracy and poor housing that exist in the Third World would decrease significantly.

The peace and social justice that are the greatest desires of humankind could be obtained with the active participation of all nations, allowing the achievement of a new international order and permitting us to give current and future generations a more humane and balanced world, based on the solid foundations of equality and dignity.

CSO: 3010/1856

COUNTRY SECTION

GUATEMALA

BRIEFS

NEW DEPUTY GOVERNMENT MINISTER--Aroldo Cabrera Enriquez was sworn in yesterday as the new deputy government minister, replacing Roberto Siekavizza, who resigned. [PA050459 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 23 Jun 82 p 6 PA]

NEW AIR FORCE BASE--On Thursday 24 June the new air force base "Lt Col Danilo Eugenio Henry Sanchez" was dedicated. The base is located in Santa Elena Municipality in the department of El Peten, and Maj Gabriel Andreu Escobar has been appointed as its commander. [PA050459 Guatemala City DIARIO DE CENTRO AMERICA in Spanish 28 Jun 82 P 8 PA]

CSO: 3010/1856

## BURNHAM DECRIES INTERVENTION BY DIPLOMATS

FL051134 Bridgetown CANA in English 1727 GMT 4 Jul 82

[Text] Georgetown, Guyana, 4 July, CANA--Guyana's president, Forbes Burnham, has hit out at Guyanese who have been advocating a return of government-run enterprises and cooperatives to the private sector and has accused foreign diplomats stationed here of seeking to change the policies of the government.

He said the diplomats were going "so far as to take their subversion to the presidential secretariat."

He made the charge at the launching of a \$750,000 (one Guyana dollar; 33 cents U.S.) store built by the Greater Georgetown Fishermen's Cooperative Society.

He said that from the inception of the cooperative Republic of Guyana in 1970, it was made clear that there would be public, private and cooperative sectors and that he hoped Guyana would be allowed to carry out its policies of socialist development unhindered by subversion "from within and without."

Several of the government's business concerns are in financial trouble and with the government bankrupt businessmen here have been suggesting they be turned over to the private sector.

Addressing a gathering which included diplomats and representatives of international funding agencies, President Burnham declared: "I do not believe that diplomats are appointed to countries to seek to change the policies of those countries, but to ensure better relations between those countries and the host countries."

"But it appears that in Guyana that is not so," he added.

"They are seeking so far as to take their subversion to the presidential secretariat."

He described these activities as snooperism and not supervision and asked "how much longer must we be insulted by these renegades," the state-owned CHRONICLE newspaper reported today.

"We have chosen our way of life. They have chosen theirs. They have been successful...give us a chance to be successful too," said President Burnham.

He demanded to know why Guyana should be lectured at by other nations. "Lecturers and copy books are for students, not nations," he said.

The paper said he had warned Guyanese to pay heed "to those who would pour poison into our ears," and asked "who are our trojan horses today?" in Guyana.

Speaking of Guyanese who advocate a handover of state enterprises to private hands, President Burnham noted that some had been saying that the country would not receive foreign investment for development if it did not change course.

But he asked, "How many investors have been attracted to countries which have taken the option of changing course?"

President Burnham also lauded the performance of the Fishermen's Cooperative Society, whose share capital of \$32 12 years ago has grown to \$400,000 (one Guyana dollar; 33 cents U.S.).

"It was good work and a great achievement for the society to be able to boast net assets of \$2.6 million," said President Burnham.

"Without cooperatives and socialism, today's ceremony would not have been possible," he added.

CSO: 3025/1118

## BRIEFS

SEAGA CONTRAGULATES VENEZUELA, ALGERIA--Kingston, Jamaica, 5 July, CANA--Jamaica's prime minister, Edward Seaga today sent separate congratulatory messages to Venezuela and Algeria on their national day. Mr Seaga also hoped for continued good relations between Jamaica and the two countries. The message to Venezuelan President Luis Herrera Campins said: "On behalf of the government and people of Jamaica, I wish to extend warm congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of the national day of Venezuela. May I also wish for you and your people continued peace and prosperity and that the ties of friendship existing between our two countries will be maintained and strengthened in the coming years." Mr Seaga told the Algerian prime minister, Mohamed Benhamed Abdelghani: "The government and people of Jamaica join me in extending to your excellency congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the independence of Algeria."

[Text] [FL051849 Bridgetown CANA in English 1835 GMT 5 Jul 82]

CS0: 3025/1119



## MATERIALS ON GOVERNMENT PUBLICITY 'BOYCOTT' OF 'PROCESO'

## 'CRITICA POLITICA' Also Affected

Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish 7 Jun 82 pp 24-26

[Article by Carlos Marin: "Growing Demands for Real Freedom of Information"]

[Text] Just prior to the celebration (on 7 June) of Freedom of the Press Day, the General News Media Coordinating Office of the Presidency of the Republic added to the publicity boycott carried out against PROCESO, which forced the closing of the CISA news agency, another similar one to the detriment of the semi-monthly magazine CRITICA POLITICA and the stoppage of two broadcasts of the radio program "Public Opinion," the first in its 5 and a half years of existence.

The account of events has been given in various news media, and several of their representatives and owners are, moreover, conversing this Monday at the banquet that the Newspaper and Magazine Publishers Association of the Mexican Republic is tendering President Jose Lopez Portillo, in appreciation for his policy on freedom of speech.

On Friday, 28 May, the government agency NOTIMEX, reporting that CISA would end its transmissions as of 31 May, told its subscribers:

"The agency, founded in 1976 by a group of journalists who had left the newspaper EXCELSIOR, has recently been faced with serious economic problems."

On Sunday, 30 May, a press release signed by Carlos Perzabal, editor of CRITICA POLITICA, was more explicit:

"Less than 6 months before the end of the current 6-year period, the policy regarding freedom of speech which had marked it has been broken off. The Government of the Republic issued the order to cancel all publicity from state agencies and companies given to the magazines PROCESO and CRITICA POLITICA. This measure represents a shift toward a policy of censorship and repression, which obviously damages the right to information so widely proclaimed by the present regime. The intention is to stifle economically, and to silence two publications which have maintained positions of analysis and criticism of the government."

Francisco Galindo Ochoa, news media coordinator of the Presidency, declared: "For publishing a cartoon that undermines the president's image, the same thing will happen to you as happened to PROCESO. You will not receive even one line of

publicity from the government. If you wish to criticize the president, do so, but not with our money (original underscored). So little is asked of you, and you do not even do that. I am responsible for implementing this policy."

The cartoon in question was carried in Number 47 of that semi-monthly magazine. In it, the author, Rogelio Naranjo, showed Lopez Portillo attempting to paint a Mexican Republic the colors of which were running.

On Monday, 31 May, Number 49 of CRITICA POLITICA went on sale, with opinions of various intellectuals and columnists regarding freedom of speech:

Alejandro Gomez Arias: "As everyone knows, the government's situation is remarkably difficult. It is reaching the end of the presidential term amid great discredit and a very serious economic situation. All this has been translated, politically, into hypersensitivity toward criticism. Since it cannot be changed and made favorable to the regime, it must be stopped.

"To assume that this is the doing of a particular official is a mistake. The means and the nuances may be such, but not the intention (...) The reality in our poor publishing environment is that, in order to survive, publications have to become somehow linked, directly or indirectly, with the publicity paid for by the state. There are, to be sure, some glaring exceptions. I think that this is a logical contradiction which must necessarily influence the writer's work. I, for my part (a very modest example), could not publish anything if I had any governmental benefit (...). The organs of heterodoxical opinion must find diversified sources of financing and, in the final analysis, be reduced to extremely modest publications (was this not the case, for example, with REGENERACION?), or else seek the economic cooperation of many patriotic Mexicans who would be willing to grant it. If this is impossible, free criticism during critical periods will be impossible as well."

In an interview, Carlos Ortiz Tejeda, former PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] deputy and former director of Conacite, expressed regret at the boycott, and commented: "I admit that the worst enemies of the regime often appear within the government; I consider as personal enemies of the president and his policy all those who want to induce the government toward a blow of this magnitude. An act of this kind would put us all on the alert to be prepared."

On the same Monday, 31 May, the Torreon LA OPINION, up until that day a subscriber of the CISA agency, reprinted the text from PROCESO (No 291) in response to the publicity boycott, stating in its editorial:

"In ancient times, they went so far as to kill the bearers of bad news. In modern times, they are only persecuted and silenced, as occurred at the end of the last 6-year period to EXCELSIOR and now, at the end of this 6-year period, to the news agency CISA-PROCESO.

"For 5 and a half years, part of the same incorrigible group which left EXCELSIOR, the initiators of CISA-PROCESO, provided a service which did not please the powerful and, once again, the forces of repression vented their anger on them. This was the price paid for not being slavishly submissive, for trying to be free and for informing those who also wish to live in freedom.

"We can focus our attention on the punishment imposed as a lesson, or pay heed to the agency's inspiring endeavor. If this is the price of fulfilling our professional commitment as journalists, we must be willing to pay it."

The same day, the Unified Socialist Party of Mexico (PSUM) issued a communique wherein it scored "the political handling of publicity" which, it remarked, "reflects an unethical, arbitrary position that is detrimental to the interests of the informing, the informers and the informed."

On Tuesday, an office of the United Press International agency sent its subscribers a note stating:

"The leading Mexican weekly accused the president's spokesman of applying a boycott against it. PROCESO, considered the country's main political weekly, declared in two articles that the presidential spokesman, Francisco Galindo Ochoa, ordered 20 state secretariats and government departments to cancel the publicity that they had been giving it, for the purpose of stifling the publication. With the boycott started on 19 April, the magazine, with a circulation of 50,000 copies, was forced to close its rapidly growing national news agency, CISA-PROCESO, the only one in the country not linked with the government.

"Like the majority of the publications in Mexico, PROCESO depended largely on government publicity, which accounts for an average of about 50 percent of the commercial space in newspapers and magazines.

"As background for the conflict, PROCESO published some daring cartoons. In one of them, it depicted the president as a beaten and defeated boxer, a few days after the Mexican currency had been devaluated over 40 percent as a result of a severe economic crisis.

"The boycott is the second in a year against the magazine. Last June, PROCESO printed an internal report from the Secretariat of Programing and Budget, which spoke of poor administration of Mexico's main source of wealth, the state monopoly, Mexican Petroleum [PEMEX]. The battle was won by the magazine, upon the resignation of PEMEX director Jorge Diaz Serrano, who was sent to the USSR as ambassador; and the publicity was later restored to PROCESO."

On the morning of that day, 1 June, an incalculable number of radio listeners tuned in to ABC International heard sports commentary and music between 0700 and 1000 hours, a period wherein, since October 1976, there had been an uninterrupted broadcast of the program "Public Opinion." According to a message from the station manager, its moderator, Francisco Huerta, had become ill.

Actually, Huerta had arrived at 0630 hours as he always did, and was reprimanded: the calls on the air were to cease, and they were to stop inviting candidates for deputy from opposition parties. He was asked to "lower the tone."

"Public Opinion" moved from housewives' complaints about public services and prices to political criticism from those same housewives, as well as from professionals, intellectuals, politicians and civil servants who aired different issues.

Among the stars on the program are Heberto Castillo, national leader of the Mexican Workers Party, and Luis Pazos, an imitator of the most arrogant capitalists.

In the center is Francisco Huerta who, several weeks ago, aired a comment about a problem which was new to him up until that time: Upon meeting him, the general coordinator of news media for the Presidency addressed him more or less in these words: "Ah, you are the moderator of that little program which is going to end!"

The pressure from Galindo Ochoa did not have any effect on that level, and an official letter from the General Directorate of Radio, Television and Films addressed to the ABC franchise holder, Carlos Ferraez, caused the latter to think that he was jeopardizing the franchise. The letter did not mention "Public Opinion" in any way, but Huerta was asked to change the program.

On Tuesday, in an interview granted to the evening publication OVACIONES, candidate Miguel de la Madrid expressed views such as these:

"I would prefer that the media per se assumed their own system of professional ethics.

"Not only have they criticized the government widely, excessively and cruelly; the parties have taken advantage of the nation's difficulties to downgrade the prestige of the institutions which have given them political existence and freedom."

Nevertheless, to the question: "What should the role of the news media be toward phenomena such as rumor, misrepresentation and yellow journalism?", De la Madrid replied:

"These are highly complex phenomena, and it is quite likely that there has been partial blame resting with the government itself, because we have not always had an open information and communication system to keep the country informed on what is happening, with an honest, candid explanation."

The future president also said: "Generally speaking, and this is not exclusively the fault of the media, we have had a tendency to stress what is negative and not to inform on what is positive. Why, I wonder, don't we all set up a system that will take note of the things that turn out well? Because it appears that we have organized ourselves to emphasize what turns out badly. There is a certain amount of masochism in this."

Coinciding with the afternoon OVACIONES, at least in time, was another communique from PSUM, a party which "forcefully protests the attacks aimed against the weekly PROCESO and the threats that prevented the airing of the program 'Public Opinion' (...) at the end of a 6-year period wherein the communications policy has embarked on an unsolvable contradiction: the right to information (set forth by the regime itself) and boycotts on the channels critical toward the system."

During the evening, on the news program "Response" directed by Joaquin Lopez Doriga, on the same ABC station, there were calls from radio listeners angered at the misinformation regarding the Huerta program. Pedro Ferriz de Con attempted to respond without providing the information and, the next day (Wednesday, 2 June), the calls

were repeated. Ferriz again did what he could, and went on the air saying that Huerta was apparently negotiating to take his program to another station.

Finally, on Thursday, "Public Opinion" reappeared, and its moderator stated on the air:

"We are in a mass medium with great influence and great penetration. Every word, every idea, has repercussions. This program is obviously uncomfortable for many officials and, understandably, this discomfort can be shown in any way. And we are very vulnerable...absolutely vulnerable, that's all." Hence, he explained, together with the franchise holder and the station manager, "we are seeing to it that the program serves its purpose, that it continues....It has become more complicated and difficult, it will have more influence, each one of you is becoming more important, because thousands of people are listening to us....The only thing that we cannot accept is to have freedom of speech restricted. This point is untouchable."

Meanwhile, on Wednesday, the newspaper NOVEDADES published a cartoon of Abel Quezada in which the author reasons: In Mexico City there are "38!" daily newspapers, "because in Mexico City the government supports with subsidies, service contracts and government publicity nearly all those newspapers and over 400! of the so-called 'political' magazines. If the news is the same, and is provided by the government, what need is there to support so many newspapers and magazines with small circulation?"

He then goes on to explain that, in EL NACIONAL and DIARIO OFICIAL, the government has a place in which to say what it wants, because they are, specifically, governmental. He next proposes: "a total suspension of that expenditure. Newspapers should make a living from their circulation and legitimate publicity. Those which can do so will survive. And the ones that survive will be more respectable as an organ of opinion. A recent example: the government withdrew all official publicity from the magazine PROCESO and it has survived. It was also withdrawn from CRITICA POLITICA. The unemployed publishers might write books saying what they did not say in their newspapers. They will sell millions!"

On the same Wednesday, the PAN [National Action Party] candidate for senator representing the state of Mexico, Pedro Arellano, warned the undersecretary of government, Rodolfo Gonzalez Guevara, that if legality was not reestablished in the area of the news media, on this commemorative Monday, a demonstration would be held in front of the offices of Secretary Olivares Santana, on Bucareli.

The next day, at the conclusion of the reappearing "Public Opinion" program, the normal closing of each broadcast was heard again, as retransmitted for several years, in the voice of President Lopez Portillo.

"We accept all the consequences of democracy, and we do not fear the responsible practice of freedom. Let all voices express themselves courageously. Let us now live together in the diversity of our society, or else tomorrow we shall unpardonably end with despotism."

Heberto Castillo Lambasts Government

Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish 7 Jun 82 p 33

[Article by Heberto Castillo: "The Criticism of the Flowers"]

[Text] PROCESO made the disclosure, a simple account of facts. Francisco Galindo Ochoa has spoken, and has assumed responsibility. He has told Julio Scherer on the telephone that he is cancelling the state and related publicity to our magazine because PROCESO lacks respect for the president and has harmed the state.

However, the author of these comments does not believe that the decision is that of Galindo Ochoa, at least not at this stage. It can now be claimed that the decision was that of the president.

The boycott of PROCESO was followed by that of CRITICA POLITICA. Galindo Ochoa does not tolerate Rogelio Naranjo's drawing an image harmful to the president there either; and he has told EL DIARIO DE JALAPA that the state must not assist a magazine which is damaging to the president.

As one can observe, the present government is of the opinion that making publicity for its programs and for the goods and services sold by its companies is helping the news media which publish its advertising. The private and state-owned companies of other nations contract for publicity to advertise their products or services. The government of Mexico does not; it purchases publicity, but it wants the price thereof to include another product. To the paid insertion (that is how it is published) it wants added the opinion paid for and bought without a bill. But in this respect there is disagreement with certain journalists. For example, what this firm sells is publicity, not consciences. Those are not for sale.

The government is also in the habit of believing that, when paying for the labor force of its employees, it is entitled to political support from them. In other words, everyone who earns a salary from the government or its companies must be on the side of the government, never on the side of the opposition. What amounts to the same thing: it is thought that, upon buying the labor force, the conscience is also bought. This is the level of corruption that prevails in the government realm. And this is the proposition of Francisco Galindo Ochoa: paying for publicity implies paying for conscience. We should recall the great Sor Juana: Who sins more, the one who sins for pay or the one who pays for sinning?

It so happens during these final months of the Jose Lopez Portillo government that the nation has come down on him. This government staked its policy on oil and food, and the economy has suffered a crisis as never before in its history. It boasted of prosperity soon, financial self-sufficiency, accelerated growth, an abundance of employment and a surplus in the agricultural-livestock balance; and now we are observing the poverty, the insufferable want, the credit dependence, the zero growth, the unemployment, the agricultural-livestock deficit and the greatest political discreditation since the time of Gustavo Diaz Ordaz.

Perhaps the results of the present government's policy, which are so evident, are the cause for the government's annoyance at those who dare to tell what they see and to expose the many misdeeds committed in the government's ranks.

To the government of Mexico, telling the truth is damaging. That is perhaps why the news media are oppressed, instead of having recourse to the law to judge those who (in the government's opinion) damage and slander.

To the government, the following must appear to be damages: saying that the regime's oil policy is antinationalistic, and alienating to the nation's sovereignty; that it would cause pollution of the environment, and abandonment of agriculture and livestock raising; that it would demand the establishment of an installed capacity exceeding that which has been stated, and would leave the new government bound to the task of selling more oil and gas to the U.S., since talks are already taking place; that it would produce galloping inflation and an increase in the foreign debt to meet PEMEX' investment requirements imposed by such an increase in the company's installed capacity; that to maintain the anonymity of the companies' shares is to protect those acting as fronts and to encourage corruption; that the exorbitant debt of \$55 billion that the public sector has at present is causing the daily slide in the peso, at the rate of 4 centavos, to force Mexico to owe 2.2 billion more pesos each day, without receiving a single dollar in credit, a loss which, in a month, is equivalent to twice the total budget of the Secretariat of National Defense and which in a year amounts to the sum of 800 billion pesos, equal to half the total Federal Government budget for 1982; that the peso will inevitably be devaluated and, at the year's end, we shall have to pay 55 pesos for every dollar, and the inflation in the country will be about 60 percent.

It is also, unquestionably, damaging to claim that corruption has invaded virtually all government sectors, and that the candidate for senator, Jorge Diaz Serrano, is a partner of Bush in Permargo, a company through which huge sums were transferred to private holdings; it is damaging to say that the Central Intelligence Agency is acting in collusion with the country's high-ranking authorities, and that the various national police forces, especially the anticonstitutional ones, tortured the political fighters. It is damaging to give a platform to the workers, peasants, employees, teachers and students in the republic who are struggling to defend their rights.

Everything that does not laud the government is damaging. One can criticize, provided the criticism is constructive. And constructive criticism is praise. "Only flowers!" as Rogelio Naranjo says.

But the boycott of PROCESO and CRITICA POLITICA is not the end of the "encouragement" for freedom of the press that is being celebrated today by the submissive press. Francisco Huerta moderated an ABC Radio program called "Public Opinion." On 1 June, Huerta managed to begin his program at 1830 hours, as usual. He was then told that, if the program insisted on criticizing the government and the president, as was happening, the franchise to the station would be cancelled.

It is on this account, reader, that we are now defending freedom of the press. We know that rights are defended by exercising them. Now, as 6 years ago, the government of the republic will not tolerate seeing its real image reflected in the mirror of truth that is offered by journalists, who have as examples Zarco, Altamirano, Mata and Flores Magon, and who remember how Belisario Dominguez lost his tongue and life, but not his honor. We shall continue.

Cartoon Comment

Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish 31 May 82 p 5

[Cartoon by Naranjo: "Just What the Client Asks For"; card reads: "From Naranjo to Galindo Ochoa."]

## Al cliente lo que pida

Por Naranjo





## Lopez Portillo Statement

Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish 14 Jun 82 pp 18-21

[Article by Carlos Marin: "The Relations Between the Government and the News Media, in Dispute"]

[Text] Demanding that there be no masks in the relations between the news media and the government, the president of the republic, Jose Lopez Portillo, in principle, took off that of his news media general coordinator, Francisco Galindo Ochoa, who had assumed responsibility for the publicity boycott against PROCESO.

For 25 minutes on Monday, 7 June, when Freedom of the Press Day was celebrated, Lopez Portillo argued on behalf of that decision, and left no doubts as to the origin of that order:

"Does a commercial enterprise organized as a professional business have a right to obtain publicity from the state, so as to systematically oppose it? This, gentlemen, is a perverse relationship, a morbid relationship, a sadomasochistic relationship, which is very close to perversions that I shall not mention here because I respect the audience: 'I pay you to beat me.' Certainly not, gentlemen!"

It is legitimate and reasonable (he had argued) "that if the state gives publicity and pays for it, it is to attain a goal in the civil society which it formalizes politically and which it must serve; publicity so that its action, so that its intentions, so that its principles may receive recognition and justification, or may lend it prestige. It is for that reason that it pays for the publicity."

He continued: "But when it pays for publicity and systematically obtains an opposite effect, we are faced with a constant opposition, which is fully warranted in the case of the political parties, but concerning which we must reflect and make distinctions in the case of commercial enterprises that want to earn money from the sale of their opinions and the sale of their circulation."

In this way, Lopez Portillo was responding to the uneasiness voiced to him by journalist Francisco Martinez de la Vega, at the ceremony for presentation of the national journalism prizes, who told him in a faltering tone:

"Every time a crazy little political boss attacks a journalist in any part of the country, we note that the legacy left by Francisco Zarco and the other heroes of free journalism is begrudged us and denied us. But there have arisen other types of deterioration in that understanding which is supposed to be mutual, in the media's relations with the government, more subtle types and, of course, not disallowed by the law.

"When the authorities satanize a professional or a publication, something in that relationship fails; for when the hostility of an authority toward a press organ is made public, this suffices for that organ's existence to become well-nigh impossible; because there are more than enough persons in all sectors who prefer to flatter the authorities rather than maintain their normal relations with the satanized journalist and publication. I cannot help but say that this situation is serious for Mexican journalism."

Martinez de la Vega also reflected:

"The government in good faith thinks that everything that it does and that it omits is for the good of the country which it governs; the sincere journalist has the conviction that, by reproaching, he serves that same supreme interest."

And also:

"For the first time in our memory (Martinez de la Vega has already exceeded 50 years of journalistic activity), a president of the republic has condescended to argue with his critics in the news media. Others pretended to look down on the criticism and the critics, and preferred direct or indirect attack."

He went on to tell Lopez Portillo: "You contradict us, you engage us in controversy with a vehemence that at first may perhaps have seemed like aggression, but you uphold your truthfulness and your lofty government responsibility. You have debated us with reasons, not with pressure."

Although the journalist did not make any explicit reference to the publicity boycott, regarding which PROCESO established its position 2 weeks ago (No 291), stating the fact that three of its reporters had been previously excluded from governmental activities, the president concentrated his speech on the government-media-publicity phenomenon, based on a series of premises prominent among which are the following:

"I wish to meet with you as a free man, because it is also as a free man that I am involved as a ruler and as a powerful person."

"I shall not argue, I merely wish to have us reflect together."

"It has often been claimed that Mexico is a country of masks. It is fitting, once in awhile, to view our masks in order to restore our identity. And our masks are often values agreed upon which we uphold in a way, in a relationship marked by pretense and mutual complicity which occasionally erupts and forces us to self-reflection and self-criticism. And we have allowed a series of values agreed upon to accumulate around the news media which, because of being reiterated, become disqualified and upset the smooth functioning of our society."

"On many occasions, the state must pay in order to inform, because it is often not considered sufficient notice to have the government inform. In order to convert the information into news, its publicity must be paid for in some way, fortunately. This is legitimate in a pluralistic, complex, mercantile, entrepreneurial society such as ours."

"The state and its organs pay for publicity. Why? In order to achieve the proposed effect on the civil society, which may range from the functional feasibility and effectiveness of one of its functions, if I may take the liberty of repeating myself, to obtaining from the society the prestige that results from fulfilling its purposes and its objectives, and thus justifying itself in the eyes of the civil society, wherein we all want to have the prestige that will lend us consistency in the human relationship represented by the civil society."

"The search for prestige is a legitimate right of the human person living in the civil society, which is also present in the case of the government that seeks in the civil society the pursuit of its prestige, a requisite for its stability, and a justification for its function and its desires."

Hence the conclusions cited at the beginning, which were supplemented with others, such as the following:

"As opposed to the commercial enterprises which make a living from publicity and accrue profits from it, and are not altruistic like the political parties, to whose responsibility I pay respect, but which want to do business with the state's publicity, speaking ill of it systematically in order to thwart the purposes that it has in making the publicity, we are in a relationship here that we must watch.

"Do the news media opposed to the government, which are not incorporated into political parties, have the right to receive from the state an exact amount of money in a systematic and constant fashion, to justify their existence?

"Must the state, which subsidizes so many activities, also do so with the systematic opposition outside of the political parties, rewarding professional vanity in search of profit? Because if they were pursuing the political goal, they would be associated with a political party.

"Must the state reserve for itself the right to know whether its publicity, and that is why I defined the concept, should be used to serve commercial interests of media which have professionalized opposition as a means of survival?

"Therefore, gentlemen, it is a matter of taking off our masks, and clarifying concepts."

And, near the end, he commented:

"As you can see, Don Francisco, I am not evading the question that you asked me; but, regarding the satanization of any of the media to which you were certainly referring, be at ease: the private banks are now making publicity in one of the satanized media; do not fear for their fate, freedom of speech is guaranteed."

Hours later, at the banquet tendered him by the representatives and owners of the organized press, the editor of the government newspaper EL NACIONAL, Fernando Garza, in making the toast on behalf of the Newspaper and Magazine Publishers Association of the Mexican Republic, voiced his emotional gratitude for the views that the president had stated that morning. "A candid statement, an accurate and realistic address," he was to remark later in the newspaper's editorial, in which he also praised Lopez Portillo's references to the right to information.

A year ago, however, the same Garza editorialized on the front page of the government newspaper his repudiation for the draft of the General Law on News Media prepared by the General News Media Coordinating Office of the Presidency of the Republic. He said on that occasion that the document was "worthy of the PUP," that single party.

Garza's remarks were followed by five questions to the president, asked by the editors of IMPACTO, the Saltillo VANGUARDIA and HOY; the assistant editor of AVANCE and the female editor of EL DIA.

Lopez Portillo told those with whom he spoke that the greatest praise that could be given to freedom "is that it has been established by our Constitution. Therefore, this morning, and (do not fear) I shall not repeat what I said there, in view of the danger that there might be admission of the possibility of our violating freedom of the press, we made very precise distinctions between communication, information, publicity, advertising and subsidy to the right to information.

"I am repeating here what I said in the morning because, before this larger audience, to which I hope all those who should have been summoned have been invited, I wish to say that the basic desire of the government for which I am responsible is to comply, and I stress that this is no merit, with the terms of our Constitution."

The next day, with some exceptions, noteworthy among which were UNO MAS UNO, EL UNIVERSAL, NOVEDADES and EL SOL DE MEXICO, few newspapers, in their institutional editorials, omitted praise and glorification for the president's comments.

The consensus among the opposition political parties (with and without registration) was different. In varying ways, but without exception, they rejected the president's arguments and stressed the political inconsistency of maintaining government publicity only in submissive organs or those whose criticism is only to the government's taste.

Starting on Tuesday, several contributors individually voiced their opposition to the logic that was used.

Manuel Moreno Sanchez, the Social Democratic Party's candidate for the presidency, wrote in SIEMPRE! that, "Attempting to assume an authoritarian stance in a government like this one, which has already lost all sense of authority, is nothing but a final act, which will not last beyond the present government's duration, and for less time than would be desired by those opposed to the open trial, to try all those subject to trial, who number many in the country.

"But if the publicity repression in the form of press censorship lasts longer, it would give PROCESO an opportunity to consolidate its independent position, whereby it will have intensified its status and not weakened its action."

On the same Thursday, an article particularly hostile to the Lopez Portillo rationale was published in EL UNIVERSAL, in which Heberto Castillo had already forcefully argued his disagreement the day before.

This time, an opponent of the regime was not involved, but rather Francisco Cardenas Cruz, one of the five national journalism prize-winners before whom the president had spoken on Freedom of the Press Day.

The journalist asked: "Who has allowed this situation? Who has fostered corruption in the news media? Who has sought daily to eliminate, reduce or expand reporting, according to the convenience of the departments concerned? Who pays

'at any price' for reporting featured on the front pages of newspapers? Who gives franchises to journalists and publishers? Who permitted the invasion by politicians of the publishing companies' property? Who is the one responsible? Who, now?"

With Cardenas Cruz, the debate reached its peak in the combined organized press: "Because if we seriously want to go to the heart of the matter, it will be necessary, as Lopez Portillo said, to remove our masks, and for all of us to remove them. Both the chief of the nation and his own general news media coordinator are familiar with the phenomenon of the press and of journalists; and they have concealed and, as other rulers have done, helped matters to continue worsening." And, in conclusion: "...If the conflicting sides consciously assume the responsibility inherent in the issue, then long live freedom of the press, of speech and of the right to information; may the media which the society deems valid survive; and let there be an end to the corruption, gifts, censorship, franchises, repression and irresponsibility which are present on all sides. But animosity must not dominate us. Let us, indeed, seek the lofty discussion of sensible persons, and submit the matter to society and to the Congress of the Union, and act accordingly."

#### 'PROCESO' Cartoon

Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish 14 Jun 82 p 5

[Cartoon by Naranjo: "Sadomasochistic Relationship"; speaker says: "I don't like to pay to be beaten, either."]



## Castillo Defends 'PROCESO'

Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish 14 Jun 82 pp 33-34

[Article by Heberto Castillo: "Freedom of the Press"]

[Text] The notion of celebrating Freedom of the Press Day originated with Col Garcia Valseca, whose newspaper chain came into existence and grew like a flower of corruption thanks to the generous subsidy given it by the government to engage in its crude anticommunism. Money, machinery, paper, ink: everything came out of the nation's coffers. It was President Miguel Aleman, who was the undisputed founder of Institutional Revolutionary Corruption and of the PRI.

At that time, there was an abundance of magazines which circulated only in government offices. With very few exceptions, the great press dealt brazenly in publicity, advertising and information, which is now the subject of presidential reflections. So much a line was charged. How much for the eight columns? But it was all "sotto voce," no boldness.

About 1968, voices of renewal arose. During the Popular Student Movement, the crowds which shouted "sold out press!" were already distinguishing Julio Scherer's EXCELSIOR from other newspapers. On that occasion clean journalism was created, in the service of the people, to the displeasure of the government. Echeverria did not put up with the criticism either, and equipped mercenaries of the pen and from the peasant leadership to oust Scherer from the editorship. With him a handful of us Mexicans departed, ready to engage in ethical journalism anyway. And we arrived at PROCESO.

Now, 6 years later, also at the end of a government, Jose Lopez Portillo, who calls himself "a free man, a ruler and a powerful person," has suppressed publicity. But he has put things in their place, and has drawn curtains.

Upon giving awards to distinguished journalists, and prompted by a cautious complaint from Francisco Martinez de la Vega, who expressed regret at the presidential satanization of certain news media, the president spoke clearly. He said: the state is dutybound to inform in a pluralistic society wherein the media are commercial entities which sell information and news. "On many occasions (I am quoting verbatim), in order to inform the state must pay...and to convert the information into news, it must pay for its publicity in some way, fortunately. This is legitimate in a pluralistic, complex, mercantile and entrepreneurial society such as ours." (*Italics are mine, HC*).

The president added: It is time "to take off our masks and to clarify concepts." He noted that we have lived for a long time behind masks. "It is fitting, once in awhile, to view our masks; and our masks are often values agreed upon which we uphold in a way, in a relationship marked by pretense and mutual complicity which occasionally erupts and forces us to self-reflection and self-criticism."

What some only supposed was made public: the fact that many journalists did not collect from the news media where they worked, but rather from the "sources."

The envelopes were distributed there without a need for giving receipts. All departments have a category for unproven expenses. From there came the funds, the payment under the table. Now, apparently, there will no longer be any need for these methods to pay for press favors. It will all be done in daylight.

The president said that the state must resort to publicity "when its information is not sufficiently attractive or newsworthy." To win prestige, to become prestigious, he said, "Sometimes one cannot simply inform, rather one has to pay the news media to have the information converted into news."

Knowing these government views, one can understand the government's uneasiness about PROCESO. On these pages, an attempt is made to inform the public about what is happening in the country, not about what the government wants to happen. The interests of the people, not those of the ruling class, are defended. Hence, there was a denunciation of the stupid oil policy which would put the country into debt and in the dreadful condition that it is currently experiencing. There was a denunciation of the sinister dealings of many government officials, with exact details. The minutes of the PEMEX Board of Administration were published, citing the company's debt and the flight of resources. The internal documents of the Secretariat of Programming and Budget were published, citing the administrative chaos in PEMEX. There were reports on the shortcomings that existed within the Federal Electricity Commission, and the inconceivable technical flaws in the construction of the Laguna Verde nuclear electric plant. There was a report on the internal "deals" made by the Secretariat of Agriculture and Water Resources, to make 1981 appear as a splendid agricultural year, with record grain production; and there was a disclosure of the shameful participation of high-ranking Mexican officials in the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. There is no doubt that such information neither lent prestige to the government nor justified it.

But it must be said that, if the PROCESO articles did not reveal the reality, the government had more than sufficient means for refuting untruths and for citing lies. And if, in these pages, there were damages or slander, as has been claimed, there are legal recourses for punishing crimes.

The facts remained as they were; they were not belied.

Now, we realize that we did not understand the game. Upon receiving the publicity and its corresponding payment, it was not understood that there were "values agreed upon," which "we uphold in some way," nor did we know about "the mutual complicity." Publicity was simply being sold; it was nothing else. We did not understand the winks, the gestures and the signals. PROCESO did not understand that the government was paying for publicity so as to be given, in exchange, additionally, recognition, justification and prestige.

Now matters are clear. The president said:

"It is legitimate and reasonable to think that, if the state gives publicity and pays for it, it is to attain a goal in the civil society which it formalizes politically and which it must serve; publicity so that its action, so that its intentions, may receive recognition and justification, or lend it prestige."

After 31 years of celebrating Freedom of the Press Day, it is overtly proposed to abolish the "values agreed upon, the pretense and the mutual complicity." They were masks! Let it be made clear: the publicity paid for by the government entails an obligation for journalists to lend prestige to the regime, to justify it and to give it recognition.

The president said that it is not acceptable for a news medium to receive publicity from the state "so as to systematically oppose it. This, gentlemen, is a perverse relationship, a morbid relationship, a sadomasochistic relationship which is very close to perversions that I shall not mention here out of respect for the audience: 'I pay you to beat me.'"

One receives a sorry image of the news media from the government. Their relations with the state are compared to the relations established between a prostitute and her customer: "I am not sadomasochistic. I pay you to caress me, not to beat me."

The government (at the least) will not purchase publicity alone, as is customary everywhere; for the same price, it wants publicity and backing: in other words, to buy paid-for space and conscience, all for the same price.

Hence, the news media which are not satanized by the government do not come out looking well. It may be thought that they have publicity because they sell consciences.

And those which received awards may perhaps be confused. Is it possible that the government has rewarded them because they lend it prestige, justify it and recognize it?

On the other hand, the concern of Francisco Martinez de la Vega is not fitting (at least as a sole concern), namely, that JPL may satanize PROCESO. He has not doomed it to disappear. At most, he has doomed it to remain, to live as a symbol of honorable, modern journalism, in the service of the people; as Ricardo Flores Magon was doomed to live forever by those who, by their oppression, made it possible for him, indomitable, rather than give in to the ruling class oppressing his people, to die blind and abandoned in a wretched prison in the United States.

There are things for which it is worth fighting to the end. Freedom of the press is one of them.

2909  
CSO: 3010/1783



## BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH GREAT BRITAIN--Mexico City, 28 Jun (NOTIMEX)--Mexico and Great Britain today signed a cultural and educational agreement which will enable the Lancaster Institute in this capital to offer an educational plan regulated by the Public Education Secretariat and to provide pre-school, primary and secondary education. UK Ambassador to Mexico Crispin Tickell has described the agreement as unique and very important. [FL291235 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2320 GMT 28 Jun 82]

AGRICULTURAL AGREEMENT WITH CANADA--Acapulco, 25 Jun (NOTIMEX)--Mexican Secretary of Agriculture and Hydraulic Resources Francisco Merino Rabago and Canadian Agriculture Minister Eugene Whelan have signed a new agreement for technical and scientific cooperation and cooperation in animal health designed to improve the exchange of animals and products and disease control. The agreement specifies the conditions for the import and export of live animals and their byproducts. Mexican and Canadian technicians will also have access to research projects in either country and share animal health services laboratories. [FL261755 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0237 GMT 26 Jun 82]

COSTA RICAN AMBASSADOR ARRIVES--Mexico City, 28 Jun (NOTIMEX)--New Costa Rican ambassador to Mexico, Marcelo Prieto Jimenez has arrived in this capital. Upon his arrival, Prieto Jimenez commented briefly on the good relations between his country and Mexico and on Costa Rica's current foreign debt negotiations. [FL291235 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0240 GMT 29 Jun 82]

PEMEX SALES CONTRACTS--Mexico City, 27 Jun (NOTIMEX)--PEMEX Foreign Trade Manager Juan Aizpuru Viesca has announced that PEMEX sales contracts abroad amount to 1,650,000 barrels of crude oil per day. Buyers include the United States (which buys 44.3 percent of Mexico's crude oil and is its major client), Spain, Japan, France, Great Britain, Italy, Israel, Brazil, Canada, the Philippines, Portugal, the Central American countries and new clients South Korea and Uruguay. Aizpuru Viesca has also announced that the company is not currently planning to raise its export prices and that although the export limit is 1.5 million barrels per day, PEMEX has a 10 percent surplus to counteract the market's negative effects. Finally, he said that Mexico is not planning to join OPEC at present and reaffirmed PEMEX's decision to stay away from the free oil market both now and in the future, even if international market conditions become increasingly difficult. [FL281407 Mexico City NOTIMEX 0137 GMT 28 Jun 82]

## NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

### CONCERN GROWS ON ATTITUDE OF VENEZUELA

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German 11 Jun 82, p 6

[Excerpt] In the cabinet in The Hague which has in the meantime resigned, there sat a man who by his inner nature and his professional experience of many years still inclines to compromise between scruple and good sense, Foreign Minister Max van der Stoel. In his field one does not carry the struggle for power too far with impunity. Therefore one would have had to be startled, at least in Holland, when van der Stoel accepted the military action of Great Britain in the Falklands crisis without reservations, including the sinking of the Argentine cruiser "General Belgrano," an act of violence which had at first made other friends of the British waver.

The declaration of loyalty by The Hague toward London was doubtless inspired by basic Dutch principles on questions of international law, such as the many prohibitions against war and aggression, but there was also a second consideration behind it: that the bad example of Argentina might become a doctrine for others, this time to the detriment of Dutch sovereignty in the Latin American area.

Just off the coast of Venezuela, which supports Argentina in the Falklands question, lie the ABC Islands, Aruba, Bonaire, and Curacao. They were captured in 1634 by the West Indies Fleet under the command of the Dutchman Johan van Waalbeeck. Before setting out on his colonization post at Nieuw Amaterdam (New York) Peter Stuyvesant had a base of operations here for his ships of the line against the Spanish Navy.

Originally the Islands were inhabited by Caiquetio Indians, who to this day live in the mixture of peoples of the Venezuelan Lara and Falcon regions. In addition there are Spanish and Creole blood ties between the three islands and the nearby continent. The Hispanic-Venezuelan influence goes back to the middle of the 19th century. But the Papal Nuncio assigned to the Antilles Islands still resides in Caracas, and Aruba, Bonaire, and Curacao are daily supplied with food and raw materials from Venezuela.

Until 1954 the three Leeward Islands and the islands of Saint Marten, Saint Eustatius and Saba lying further north in the Caribbean comprised a colonial administrative zone of the Netherlands. Since then they have been

an internally self-governing component of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. But The Hague is responsible for their foreign and defense policy matters. And the Foreign Office now has serious forebodings that the "Falklands" might be repeated.

In the 3rd week of May, Guido Bendien, the ambassador of the Netherlands in Venezuela, received from his headquarters the assignment of clarifying the motives of a statement by the Venezuelan consul-general in Willemstad on Curacao. The South American diplomat Jose Angel Oropeza, representative of his country in the Netherlands Antilles and a political friend of President Herrera Campins, had threatened "diplomatic or if necessary steps from another quarter" on the state-owned Caracas television in the event that the ship repair yards of Curacao accepted ships of the Royal Navy operating in the South Atlantic. The incident fitted earlier allusions to a gradual inclusion of the ABC Islands into the sphere of interest of Venezuela, which is confronted 25 kilometers from its Caribbean coast with bridgeheads of the North Atlantic Defense System and the European Community. The increasingly frequent visits of ministers from Caracas in The Hague cause mild surprise, since the visits take place under regional pretexts, but actually come close to foreign political activities.

So far the foreign ministry in The Hague has not wanted to intervene here, since the central government in Curacao as a rule reacts sensitively to guidance from the Dutch, and in addition the former mother country is aiming at giving independence to these last colonial relics in the intermediate future. But the public threat of force by Venezuelan representative Oropeza was too much for Foreign Minister van der Stoep.

Of course Caracas has not yet raised any territorial claims on the ABC Islands, but could use the alleged threat of British or North American fleet units appearing off its coast as a pretext for a tougher policy. In the meantime Venezuela has already stopped tolerating Dutch-North American man maneuvers on the islands, which they feel would be an obstacle to the development of its sovereign rights.

As in the case of the Falklands, one can also say of the Netherlands Antilles that they are linked only through colonial history, but not geographically to the distant European power, but in this case it must be added that only a few Dutch live on the three islands and that the ethnic and cultural relationship with the population of the nearby continent is unmistakable.

Up to now the Venezuelan Government has been outwardly embarrassed by the wait. As soon as the Netherlands Antilles become independent, possibly within 10 years, they would nevertheless be an easy prize. This is particularly true of the island of Aruba, which wants to free itself from the old island association besides, and stand on its own feet, partly in order to be able to keep for itself the oil deposit which has been demonstrated to exist in a substratum. The Aruba separatists base their position on the belief that Venezuela, as a petroleum power with high visibility, will then behave according to international law.

Without doubt Venezuela is not behaving as aggressively as Argentina in that one cannot so easily overrun 230,000 Antillians as a hundredth as many Falklanders. But if the defensive capabilities of even the British and all the resolutions of the United Nations prove to be ineffective in the Falklands case, nothing other than its own legislation can prevent Venezuela from extending its sovereignty within its optical horizon. And besides, the South American state has nothing to fear from a Dutch fleet. The Dutch sold their only aircraft carrier long ago--to the Argentinians.

6108

CSO: 3103/533

## GENERAL PAREDES MAKES REFERENCE TO FALKLAND ISLANDS

PA011302 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 30 Jun 82 p B-6

[Text] A few hours ago, Gen Ruben Dario Paredes, National Guard commander in chief, said that the year 1984 "will be the beginning of a new period in the process of peaceful changes began in Panama 13 years ago by General Torrijos." "In 1984," he added, "the country will be facing a new period of changes that society is demanding to continue guaranteeing to all Panamanians peace and stability necessary to attain the level of progress and welfare for all."

General Paredes made these statements in the secondary school auditorium in Bocas Del Toro Province. He and the students arrived at the school after marching arm-in-arm from San Vicente, the house for the elderly: "In this second period we will have to comply with the process of full recovery of our sovereignty in the former canal zone," General Paredes added. "Recent developments in the Malvinas Islands, where force has been used against what is right, demands our attention and should put us on the alert. The possibility exists that a thoughtless and ignorant ruler from our sister country of the north would try to deny our sovereign rights established in the Torrijos-Carter treaty. We should not assume a fatalistic attitude, but such a development should not take us by surprise either. We must be united and on the alert so that it does not occur," Paredes indicated.

Referring to other issues presented by the students of Bocas Del Toro, General Paredes said that the roles of the representatives are questioned in different regions and sectors of public opinion: "We must not confuse the men with the system," he said. "The system is just and necessary, any failure rests with some of the men. That is why students, youth and the people in general must demand more work and production and demand that their representatives be honorable and hard-working people, identified with the community," General Paredes pointed out.

Following a tight schedule, General Paredes, who was accompanied by Lt Col Angel Mina J., Lt Col Alberto Purcell and Lt Col Leonidas Macias, participated in many meetings. These meetings included sessions with university student delegations and sessions to discuss the province's economic development programs. Others who accompanied General Paredes were Maj Aristides V. Hassan, chief of Bocas Del Toro military zone, Norman Wood, governor of Bocas Del Toro, and Vicente Contreras, Bocas Del Toro representative.

CSO: 3010/1854

## LABOR LEADER PHILLIP BUTCHER BECOMES PCC BOARD MEMBER

PA291605 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2300 GMT 28 Jun 82

[Text] Roberto Heurtematte, former Panamanian member of the board of directors of the Panama Canal Commission [PCC], has explained his resignation from the board and referred to his work in that organization during the 2 years he was a member of it.

[Begin recording] I resigned because I had been there 2 years. The PCC board of directors is composed of nine members, five of them North Americans and four Panamanians. I was one of the Panamanian members. The U.S. Government has changed all its representatives. All the U.S. members of the board except one have been changed. I think that this situation called for me to make it easier for the president to make whatever changes he thought suitable on the Panamanian side.

I think the canal has operated efficiently for the past 2 years. It has had record figures regarding the number of ships and the size of the ships that have passed through, revenue...in a few words, the canal has been establishing records on traffic and revenue. Therefore, I think that good management of the canal has been one of the achievements of the board of directors. I am satisfied with this good management.

However, as a Panamanian, I am deeply concerned over some matters that are not satisfactory for Panama. I can say, and it is good to make this known, that we have had much cooperation from the U.S. members of the board of directors, that we have had friendly relations and that they have cooperated as much as they could.

We have had efficient, exceptionally good cooperation--I would say--from Administrator McAuliffe and from Deputy Administrator Manfredo, of course. The problem is that the treaties were approved and the United States had to pass an implementation law. This applied to Panama also and Panama passed laws that put into effect the commitments acquired through the treaties.

The U.S. Government did pass a law, but its purpose was not to put the treaties into effect, but to dissolve the advantages that Panama secured through the treaties, and this has been admitted.

Congressman Murphy drafted this law. Congressman Murphy became notorious later when he was arrested for having accepted bribe money. Another congressman who was arrested on immorality charges--homosexuality--was Congressman Bowman. You can see the kind of enemies we have. I remember that General Torrijos used to say that Panama had the right to decide its own enemies. I think these two are enemies, considering the type of people they are. They drafted a law that is not in accordance with the treaty. This is the basis of the problems that Panama has been facing in connection with the treaties and the administration of the canal. These problems arise from the law passed by the U.S. Congress: The notorious law 96-70, which does not comply with treaty specifications. [End recording]

The position of the Panamanians who work in the canal area will be strengthened by the presence of a labor leader on the PCC board of directors. This statement was made this morning by Panamanian labor leader Phillip Dean Butcher. Butcher is 57. He has dedicated 20 years to labor union activities. The national government has appointed him to the PCC board of directors. Butcher, a former secretary general of the Confederation of Workers of the Republic of Panama, told Televisora Nacional the following:

[Begin recording] [Butcher] We see my appointment by the Panamanian Government as an honor. The working class has always struggled to have a labor leader in the PCC board of directors because most of the problems Panama faces with the United States in the canal area are of a labor-management nature. We believe that having a labor representative there, we can advance. We also accept that it is the president of the republic who decides on Panama's foreign policy, and the Panamanian representatives will have to work as a team. We expect that when I am ratified in my position, I will be given due instructions from the president.

[Question] Do you think the position of Panamanians working in the canal area will be strengthened with your presence on the board of directors?

[Answer] Without a doubt, because I have personally suffered the type of discrimination that the Panamanian workers in the canal zone have endured. I am sure that I will be able to understand concerns of the workers and report to the president so that he can determine the type of policy we should have in the board of directors. [End recording]

CSO: 3010/1854

## PRESIDENT ROYO HONORS OUTGOING U.S. AMBASSADOR

PA071215 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2300 GMT 6 Jul 82

[Text] This afternoon Panamanian President Aristides Royo awarded Ambler Moss, U.S. ambassador to Panama, the Order of Vasco Nunez de Balboa in the Grand Cross degree. The ceremony took place in the yellow room at the presidential palace. Demetrio Basilio Lakas, former president; Dennis McAuliffe, Panama Canal Commission administrator; Fernando Manfredo, Panama Canal Commission deputy administrator; Jorge Illueca, foreign minister; Luis Alberto Arias, planning and economic policy minister; and other distinguished Panamanian Government officials were present.

In praising Ambassador Moss, President Royo said:

[Begin recording, in progress]....with the decree granting this decoration, had this been an act of protocol. But since this is a demonstration of personal friendship and of U.S.-Panamanian friendship--a friendship among two peoples, two governments and two nations--it is necessary to underscore this moment with a few brief words.

I would like to point out at this time that the appreciation that Ambler Moss has won among the Panamanian community is not only due to his position as a good and great ambassador. It is because he is a friend and because the U.S. people have a great sense of justice--what we could call "fair play"--particularly with the small and poor countries. While in Panama, he has not only been an official who must protect, as he has done, the good relations between two governments; he has represented the American man, the North American per se, in his concern with finding solutions for the problems of smaller countries. In that sense--as more than an official, more than a great ambassador--he has been a great friend to our country. He has demonstrated this not only with his knowledge of our reality and the reality of the Latin American countries, but with all of the grains of sand that he has contributed to the daily improvement in the relations between our two countries.

Ambler, we are very grateful for your work in Panama, for all that you have done in the political, social, economic areas, for all that you have done and continue to do for international relations.



And if it is true that behind every great man there is a great woman, then I believe that at this time, even though we are honoring you, we must mention Serena. She has been at your side at all times, supporting you and helping you with your work in our country.

Ambler has been so honest, such a good friend, so sincere and possessing such a great sense of justice, that on occasions, when he has felt that we were not right, he has told us so. [Laughter] This requires a good deal of courage and bravery, which he has always demonstrated.

If there were a legal title, I would award you with it. Since no such legal title exists, we give it to you from our hearts: As of today, even if you have long been one, you are an honorary citizen of our country.  
[Applause] [End recording]

CSO: 3010/1854

COUNTRY SECTION

PANAMA

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO COLOMBIA--Alfredo Arango, a career diplomat, has been appointed Panamanian ambassador to Colombia. He previously served in Egypt and Peru. [PA060328 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 1 Jul 82 p A-4]

CSO: 3010/1854

## INTERVIEW WITH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ARIAS STELLA

PY051816 Santiago COSAS in Spanish 20 May 82 pp 20-22

[Interview with Javier Arias Stella, minister of foreign affairs, by Elizabeth Subercaseaux, from Lima, date not given]

[Excerpts] "Peruvians have drawn their sword and pledged it to the service of General Galtieri. They are going to join the war. And when the war is over, beware of the North and beware of the South..." This was said in Santiago the day I left for Lima.

It is true that the Peruvian press comments: "The best friend Argentina has in the world today is Peru." And it is true that last week 150,000 Peruvians met in the Campo de Marte, paraded along La Colmena Avenue for 3 hours and finally stopped at the San Martin Plaza. "A tremendous carnival took place because everyone was carrying rag doll effigies of Thatcher riding on a broom, just like a witch," said a passerby enthusiastically.

All of this is true, but there is a big difference between demonstrating and drawing swords in order to thrust them into English breasts in the South Atlantic. The Peruvian Government's thoughts are not headed this way. In the streets of Lima today there are slogans posted which may help to understand where this bellicose attitude was born: "FBT versus the Gaucho." FBT is Fernando Belaunde Terry, the president. The "Gaucho" is Gen Luis Cisneros Vizquerra, his war minister. This Peruvian "Gaucho" was born in Buenos Aires, studied in Buenos Aires and graduated as a lieutenant from the Argentine military school. That may be the reason why the "Gaucho's" language has nothing in common with that of his president. Belaunde speaks of peace, negotiates for peace and asks for peace: "I ask all world leaders to support the peaceful steps of Javier Perez de Cuellar." The "Gaucho" in turn uses a different language: "Your support must be given right now in material form, by sending Argentina boats, submarines, airplanes, helicopters, military stores and ammunition, tanks, antiaircraft systems, personnel, everything Argentina may need...Latin America must begin to wear its pants...the time has come...it is better to die standing than to live on our knees"...and his picture appears on the cover of CARETAS with a bare sabre in his hand and war painted on his face.

Belaunde's picture does not appear on any cover, but if it does, it would have to show him saying the rosary: "He who seeks peace is just serving God...an intervention by the USSR in support of Argentina in the conflict would be regrettable. I only wish that peace will make its way this week."

According to the opposing left, the reason for these differences between the president and his minister are because "Belaunde wants to wear the Nobel peace prize crown; and the "Gaucha" wants to wear any crown after chopping off democracy's head." And the worst is, they say, "that Cisneros has a lot of influence in the army."

This is a complicated situation for the young Peruvian democracy. It isn't easy to get along with a Galtieri, a "Gaucha" and a Thatcher.

[Question] What is your opinion, foreign minister?

Arias Stella shrugs his shoulders, frowns and raises his hands: "Well, it's our turn. There are things which although you have to live through, are very difficult to understand."

[Question] Some analysts have classified this apparently unconditional support which Peru has granted to the Argentine cause in its controversy with Great Britain as "unusual." What are the main reasons for the Peruvian Government's stand?

[Answer] We took our position on 3 April, 1 day after the Argentine forces ejected the British. This official position emphasized three points: The first was to reassert our support of Argentina's claim of sovereignty over the islands. The second was to adhere to the principle that differences must be solved in a peaceful manner and in harmony with existing agreements. The third point was our call to begin negotiations and to solve this incident peacefully. Our position is very clear, and everything we have done after announcing it has been directed at fulfilling these principles. I am surprised that anyone would classify our position as unusual...

[Question] What is happening, foreign minister, is that there are some who say that this unlimited Peruvian support is not only due to an eagerness to seek peace or to help a sister nation, but that military agreements exist between Peru and Argentina. Is that true?

[Answer] What there is, and it is certain, is a traditional and very good relationship between Peru and Argentina, which was born during our independence process. Our independence process is closely allied to Gen Jose de San Martin. Since then, our ties of friendship and mutual respect have been manifested in a thousand ways.

[Question] Have they also been manifested by military agreements?

[Answer] No. There is nothing like that. What exists between Peru and Argentina are common current agreements which are known to the international community. It is also true that the common starting point which I mentioned

has a military basis originating a long time ago, ever since Peruvian officers took training courses in Argentina and Argentine officers took training courses in Peru.

[Question] If there is no agreement, why do they say that part of the arms which the Argentines have used in the Malvinas comes from Peru?

[Answer] That is a journalistic rumor which is impossible to avoid. It has been said that there are certain types of Peruvian aircraft in Argentina, but they are just speculations.

[Question] Sergio Gutierrez Olivos, who was Chilean ambassador in Argentina has stated that in his opinion, this declared position in favor of Argentina is because "the Gaucho became hysterical." I would like to ask you, foreign minister, if the Peruvian war minister is actually raising his own colors or if this support is truly the feeling of the whole democratic government.

[Answer] You have to separate the official position of the country from personal statements made by Peruvian personalities who have acted on their own.

[Question] Of course General Cisneros is the war minister, nothing more, nothing less...

[Answer] That is right; but what we have to review is the Peruvian position, not that of General Cisneros. And the Peruvian position is shown in the Foreign Ministry communiques and in the statements made by the president of the republic who, according to our constitution, is the one in charge of international relations. Our fight is fundamentally aimed at seeking peace, and the international community knows that if there is any effort deserving general praise, that is the Peruvian effort to seek peace and not war.

[Question] How do you explain that while President Belaunde is making the utmost effort on behalf of peace, his own war minister is asking for "definite solidarity with Argentina?"

[Answer] I was coming to that. Let us first make the Peruvian position perfectly clear. President Belaunde himself, who is the official spokesman of this country, stated after the regrettable sinking of the Belgrano, that Peru would be willing to give all support possible.

[Question] Boats, submarines, aircraft, helicopters, military stores and ammunition, tanks and all the rest, is this what General Cisneros is asking for?

[Answer] I say all the help we are able to give. Do you know how much it costs to send one airplane?

[Question] Of course it must be....

[Answer] That is why I am telling you that Peru would be willing to help according to its abilities and in harmony with national interests. Now, it is understandable that the war minister might have made some remarks regarding his personal point of view, since he was trained in Argentina. But even so, General Cisneros has always said that President Belaunde has the last word. And you should not confuse solidarity as encouragement for war. There was a rally in Lima a few days ago, in which all Peruvians, of the most diverse political sectors, supported the Argentine cause, not war.

[Question] And the position of the army: Is it also pacifist?

[Answer] The army's position is the same as Peru's.

[Question] I am asking this question because Belaunde's opponents say that General Cisneros is very influential in the army and that he is chasing democracy's head...fishing in trouble waters, Mr Foreign Minister....

[Answer] (Arias Stella laughs, but somewhat reluctantly.) Speculations, absurd speculations and nothing else.

[Question] What is your opinion about whether Argentina broke international law when the Malvinas were taken by force?

[Answer] If we view things just from the today's point of view, one may think that it did. But one has to recall that in 1833 England took these Argentine territories by force. In our judgment and generically speaking, Argentina is therefore right, even though we admit that within the framework of modern international law, "utis posedetis facto" is a principle which England may claim as valid. Precisely for this reason Argentina did not invoke Article No 3 [of the Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty], when the incident began, so that there would be no question as to who was the aggressor and who was the attacked.

[Question] Mr Foreign Minister, what will happen in Latin America the day that other countries, encouraged by the Argentine attitude, try to recover lost territories?

[Answer] You must not forget that when England took over the Argentine territory in 1833, there was not the least justification for this deed. But in reply to your question, I will tell you that nowadays we have international regulations and that at least Peru respects such international regulations.

[Question] But, as a matter of fact, Argentina has broken the concept of peaceful solution. Don't you think it is dangerous to set this precedent in Latin America where almost all countries have territorial differences with their neighbors?

[Answer] Look, let us review this particular case, the case of Argentina and Great Britain. The English sent the "endurance" to the Georgias to remove the Argentine workers who, encouraged by the island officials'

refusal to dismantle a factory, hauled up the Argentine flag. In other words, from this point of view, the first action of force came from England in sending the "endurance."

[Question] In other words, you do not believe that Argentina provoked this conflict.

[Answer] It is questionable. I understand that there is a litigious point which could, with all respect, be interpreted differently, but establishing where the root of the matter lay is not so simple.

[Question] You have not answered anything regarding the danger of setting this precedent in the continent...

[Answer] I do not think that a precedent is being set which will, based on what happened between Argentina and Great Britain, encourage other countries to try to recover territories which were lost under very different circumstances.

[Question] And thinking about Peru, doesn't the desire to recover the territories lost during the war with Chile exist deep in the Peruvian people's hearts, even though it may be concealed?

This time the foreign minister laughs easily, but says nothing.

[Question] Mr Foreign Minister, I am asking this question because these conflicts always awaken desires and dormant resentments....

[Answer] No, no. Now, what lies in the Peruvian spirit is the historical and emotional, something I respect. And as foreign minister I can tell you that we truly respect the international events and agreements currently in force, but we also respect the conscience and individuality of everyone as well as that of each of the men in our country.

[Question] The Chilean Government's attitude regarding the conflict in the Malvinas is far away from the Peruvian position. Do you think that this may harm the relations between our countries?

[Answer] No, I don't think so. I have attentively listened to the statement made by Ambassador Daza at the OAS. It was a very tactful explanation of his vote. On the other hand, nobody is unaware of the fact that at present there is a problem being cleared up between Chile and Argentina, and it was natural that Chile would have a more expectant position. Even thus, (Chile) was very clear in supporting the Argentina's right to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

[Question] It was rumored in Santiago that General Galtieri's plans included taking the Malvinas first and then the Chilean islands in the Beagle Channel. Had this happened, what would Peru's position regarding Argentina have been?

[Answer] Had this happened, we would have viewed the incidents as two totally different situations. In the case we are discussing, there is a right to sovereignty which Argentina has been claiming since the very moment England seized these territories. And through various declarations, there is international recognition including the Malvinas among the areas for decolonization. Chile and Argentina, however, have a difference which is being cleared up through nothing less than the Pope's mediation. Therefore, I believe these are two very different cases, and I hope that the difference between Chile and Argentina will be resolved happily. "Besides, I have no indication, not the least, that General Galtieri intended anything of that sort." [Quotation marks as published]

[Question] If Chile and Argentina eventually confront each other in armed conflict, speaking from the heart, Mr Foreign Minister, what would Peru's position be?

[Answer] I am not going to answer your question. The Peruvian position is as clear as this: We do not want a warlike conflict to ever happen, not only between Chile and Argentina, but between any other American brother countries. We will always do our best to contribute to this principle.

[Question] Mr Foreign Minister, how do you explain that a democracy such as the [one in] Peru would come to decidedly support the cause of a dictatorship which, in the opinion of many, brought the issue to the point of war just because it was collapsing?

[Answer] We believe that the democratic system is the best guarantee for the people's progress. I personally believe, as a member of popular action--a democratic, nationalist and revolutionary party--without the slightest doubt, that the democratic system can guarantee the people's progress. But this makes me no less respectful of the domestic situation of each country. For instance, we did not agree that Bolivia should be excluded from the Andean Pact for interrupting its democratic process. We said on that occasion that if Bolivians were already being punished by a military coup, we were not going to punish them further because they did not have a democratic government.... Our policy is to respect this type of government, since this is the only way for them to respect democracies.

[Question] To punish is one thing, but to support a war is quite another...

[Answer] Just a minute. We also have relations with other Latin American countries which do not have democratic systems, in which there is a process toward democracy via the establishment of a transition-type of government. We have friendly relations and we respect them. Some neighboring countries are going through various stages of institutionalization, shall we say, and none other than the Belaunde government strengthened the ties with those countries. Therefore, even though we understand that the ideal for Argentina is to eventually have a democratic government, we are not going to turn our backs just because Argentina does not currently have a democratic government.



[Question] In your opinion what will the political panorama in Latin America be like after this war, taking into account that the United States has supported Great Britain?

[Answer] First of all, I will tell you that I believe the U.S. attitude was a mistake. It took us by surprise. It is unusual and I think it is also antihistoric. I sincerely believe this and I am sorry about it because I am one of those who think from a geopolitical sense of view, and we belong to the American continent. And the United States is a great power in the world. Whether we like it or not, whether we want it or not, we have to coexist with them. We live within the same ideologic current and therefore there are many characteristics which unite us besides the geography which in itself is enough. We understand the need for a more fruitful relationship with the United States for the good of the Peruvian and the Latin American peoples. Nothing was more painful for us from our point of view than to see how such a serious mistake was made.

[Question] How is this mistake going to affect the future political panorama?

[Answer] I believe a wound was opened and that it will be very difficult for it to heal quickly. A very deep wound was opened, and the ones taking advantage of this situation are precisely those who do not share, as we do, the same ideology with the United States, the same democratic aspirations. Yes, a wound will stay. The recovery will greatly depend upon the U.S. ability to reshape its image and on the way the United States repairs its mistake.

[Question] Must such repair imply a lot of money or not?

[Answer] Not only money. It will also be a question of attitude.

[Question] It has always been said that the United States is eldest brother to Latin American countries. Who is going to be the eldest brother while the wound you mentioned heals?

[Answer] I believe there will be a need to thoroughly review the whole inter-American system, not with a view to excluding anyone, but toward making the system more effective and toward viewing the way to deal with situations such as the one we have gone through in the future.

[Question] And also toward making the USSR the eldest brother?

[Answer] The USSR is not part of the American continent and there is no reason for it to be in the American continent.

[Question] In this conflict, however, the USSR has managed to make Argentines understand that eventually it would support them, particularly if the United States directly supported Great Britain....

[Answer] Well, in this sense I believe that each country, in order to defend its territorial integrity and in view of the threat of an aggression, has the perfect right to seek the way to solve its problems. Some may ask help from China, others from the USSR or Germany or the United States.

[Question] But don't you believe that the Soviet presence in the American continent may cause the established international order to become completely unbalanced?

[Answer] One of the inappropriate consequences of this great mistake made by the United States is precisely to give a chance to those who hold different ideological positions from that of the Western current of thought. In this way they are given the weapons to attack those of us who believe that the Western democratic system is, with all its imperfections, the best way to solve the problems of our peoples. This is a reality. And this is one of the situations we will have to cope with.

[Question] If Perez de Cuellar's negotiations fail and the conflict comes to its most violent expression, would Peru directly support Argentina?

[Answer] In this case the response of all the member countries of the treaty would have to be considered. So far Argentina has not invoked Article No 3, through which each country has to consider the way to honor, in its own sphere, its position as signatory of the treaty.

[Question] Under what circumstances would Argentina invoke Article No 3?

[Answer] In the event that continental Argentina were attacked.

[Question] And then?

[Answer] Well, in that case there would be no doubt. The provisions of Article No 3 of the Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty would have to come into play. Each country would have to act according to its abilities, its possibilities and its own national interest.... I view all this with great concern because it can undoubtedly spread farther than the sphere where it is now. We have seen that the other great power issued a warning 2 days ago. That power believes that the expansion of the zones of exclusion go against interests beyond those which are directly linked to the Malvinas incident itself. This could be--and I hope I am wrong--the beginning of another sort of conflict which would be simply fatal. I view this with great concern; that is why all our hopes rest upon the negotiations of Javier Perez de Cuellar, since not only peace in America is at stake here but also peace in the world.

[Question] Have you called upon General Galtieri to seriously reflect on this point?

[Answer] While Peru was negotiating, we strongly noted the need to understand that there must be an honorable peace here, and that such peace also implies some type of flexibility from rigid positions. We have also emphasized how not giving up and not being flexible endangers America and the world; the issue may ignite a world war.

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## BRIEFS

TERRORISTS MURDER PEASANTS IN AYACUCHO--Lima, 2 Jun (AFP)--Two peasants were tortured and then murdered by a group of 30 terrorists in the locality of Chacari in the department of Ayacucho which is located 575 km southeast of Lima, the police reported here today. The peasants, Cecilio Gutierrez, 30, who headed the community of Chacari, and Julian Tala Ayala, 60, were violently removed from their homes and were tortured by having their arms and legs [extremidades] slashed. They were finally murdered by the attackers in the presence of their sons. According to a report released by the police, the terrorists thought that the victims were giving information to the police. It was noted that there were some women among the terrorists who managed to escape after the peasants were murdered. Conversely, calmness prevails in Ayacucho, where the state of emergency and state of siege that were imposed due to previous terrorist acts continue to be in force. However, some groups of unidentified persons have been extorting traders by demanding specific amounts of money, reports from the area have noted. [Text] [PY072249 Paris AFP in Spanish 2237 GMT 2 Jun 82]

STATE OF EMERGENCY IN AYACUCHO LIFTED--Lima, 3 Jun (LATIN-REUTER)--The state of emergency declared 3 months ago in the Peruvian mountainous area of Ayacucho was lifted after finding that the guerrilla violence had decreased, official sources stated today. The measure which suspended constitutional guarantees and granted the police extraordinary powers expired 4 days ago. The sources added that the police will keep strong watch in this Peruvian southern area to counteract the activity of the Maoist guerrilla group Shining Path. The police further reported today that some 20 presumed guerrillas killed a former official of the local government and a peasant in the city of Chacari, south of Ayacucho, 2 days ago. [Excerpts] [PY032222 Buenos Aires LATIN in Spanish 2036 GMT 3 Jun 82]

POLICE STATION ATTACKED IN TACNA--Lima, 2 Jun (AFP)--A group of 12 masked terrorists attacked the Ticaco police station yesterday in Tacna, 1,336 km south of Lima, and took weapons and ammunition after overpowering the three policemen who were on duty, it was reported here today. The above was the first attack occurring in Tacna Department, which borders with Chile. It was perpetrated by 12 unidentified men who, taking advantage of a religious celebration, attacked the post and, after brutally beating two civil guards and a corporal, took a submachinegun, several revolvers and ammunition. The regional police have reported that a reinforcement squad has been dispatched to hunt for the attackers who fled toward the mountains of Puno Department. [Text] [PY031517 Paris AFP in Spanish 1411 GMT 2 Jun 82]

## FOREIGN MINISTER ZAMBRANO VELASCO INTERVIEWED

PY041320 Santiago COSAS in Spanish 17 Jun 82 pp 28-29

[Interview with Jose Alberto Zambrano Velasco, Venezuelan foreign minister, by Eugenio Gutierrez "from Washington"--date of interview not given]

[Text] If there is any country which has reprimanded the United States over its position concerning the Malvinas, it is Venezuela. Shortening the ideological gap which separates the democratic government of Luis Herrera Campins from the authoritarian regime of Gen Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri, the two nations are exhibiting a common front to face what they call "colonialist deeds on the part of Britain, aggravated by Washington's support for this line of force, which question the validity of the Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty [TIAR]." For Jose Alberto Zambrano Velasco, Venezuelan foreign minister--a position he has held since early 1979--this situation will mean deep changes in the region.

During an exclusive interview with COSAS, Zambrano Velasco stated that his country will support Argentina to the end. He also denounced the fact that the UN charter indeed is an element which has allowed the great powers to use force with impunity. He stated that the behavior of the UN Security Council, "which is in charge of overseeing peace, is further accentuating skepticism towards evaluating its role and has created deep frustrations among Latin American foreign ministers."

Regarding the Venezuelan territorial claim against Guyana, he clearly pointed out that "we respect international law, but we are not going to remain inactive if there is an intent to avoid our recovering what is ours."

[Question] In your opinion, what changes may take place in Latin America due to the U.S. position regarding the Malvinas issue?

[Answer] There is a definitive need to define the U.S. position in relation to its commitments to the TIAR. It seems evident that the U.S. attitude makes it clearer than ever that Latin America must seek by itself a solution to the continental security problem. So far it is obvious that the United States does not keep its word concerning TIAR, and this is very serious.

[Question] After 12 years of a provisional agreement the Puerto Espana protocol has expired. This means that Venezuela will begin direct negotiations with Guyana, the former British colony, from which it claims two-thirds of its territory. Based on the South Atlantic experience, what can Venezuela expect in this regard?

[Answer] On the date you mentioned, the Venezuelan claim will again be made, according to Article 4 of the Geneva agreement. This implies that both nations must fulfill in good faith the steps foreseen in the cited international commitment in order to reach a satisfactory, definite and practical solution. I point out that nobody should doubt--even less Guyana--that Venezuela must receive compensation for the imperialistic dispossession which it suffered late in the last century on the part of Great Britain.

[Question] Marcial Perez Chiriboga, Venezuelan ambassador to Washington, recently stated to me that Venezuela "will not resort to international organizations over the pending dispute with Guyana." What is your interpretation?

[Answer] We prefer to deal directly with Guyana, with nobody intending to show us rules. We respect international law, but we do not accept injustice; we are not going to remain inactive, and the solution is that they return to us what belongs to us.

[Question] Forbes Burnham, prime minister of Guyana, was emphatic when he denounced the fact that "Venezuelan troops have been carrying out maneuvers on the border." What is your reply?

[Answer] Prime Minister Burnham has been scheming for a long time to make the problem into an international one, charging Venezuela with being an invader and seeking to take by force the territories in dispute. At the very bottom this is a way out, a smoke screen to avoid serious domestic issues, but he is wrong when trying to sell this overused argument. In the long run, one can see that these charges which have been repeatedly made during the last 12 years are completely untrue, irresponsible and cynical, since nothing good ever comes from a lie, from deceit. I believe it is wiser and more sensible to be very cautious.

[Question] There are very many observers, however, who point out that Argentina took the step over the Malvinas at the precise moment when "its serious domestic problems left no other alternative for the militarymen," worsened by the fact that "the use of the force does not gain profit." Your government, however, is supporting this. Isn't this contradictory?

[Answer] There are some who say that. There are also some who say that General Galtieri's government may fall, but I do not think we should begin speculating. So far, the Buenos Aires regime has the unanimous support of its people in the war with Britain. I do not wish to make further remarks.

[Question] An international personality pointed out that "once again it is proved that Latin America represents an insurmountable case of rhetoric, of support through verbalism, which is dissolved in a flood of words." Don't you believe that so far the facts show he is right?

[Answer] The tragedy being experienced in the South Atlantic is the opposite extreme to rhetoric. The language of weapons is not verbalism. That is why we will see whether the TIAR is just a paper instrument or whether it is actually protecting the region from extracontinental aggression.

[Question] Whatever the outcome of this 20th OAS consultative meeting, is Venezuela ready to give Argentina military support?

[Answer] We have given Argentina our support at all times, and we will support it to the very end.

[Question] Was the U.S. attitude a surprise to the Venezuelan Government?

[Answer] At the beginning, during the negotiations towards reaching peace between Argentina and Britain, the United States adopted a somewhat natural position, which then gradually turned into absolute support for the British. The U.S. attitude was not surprising, since it was giving clear signs towards which side it was inclined. At this point what would definitively draw attention would be if the Reagan administration decided to abandon a position which in my opinion is reprehensible from all points of view. It chose such a path and it will have to suffer the consequences.

[Question] In your judgment, is the United States a trustworthy partner for Latin America?

[Answer] For obvious reasons I will not answer your question at this moment.

[Question] Is Venezuela reviewing its position with the United States?

[Answer] Without any doubt, and it is thoroughly doing so. It is appropriate to point out, however, that the crisis which is being experienced has not reached the last stage, even though everything leads us to think that relations between the United States and Latin America will continue deteriorating. I think that no conclusion would actually be valid on the basis of the mere awareness of the deeds which have occurred so far. We will attentively follow the steps which various states take, but watching the overall basic framework of reconstruction, of the new bases for which a security system must be in Latin America. This is the essential feature of a bitter lesson.

[Question] Do you criticize international organizations such as the United Nations, charging them with relegating their main objective--peace and justice--to a secondary position? What is the basis for your point of view?

[Answer] I have stated that peace and justice stopped being the main objective and purpose of the United Nations long ago. It is not a question of 10 or 15 years ago. This stems from the very instance of the signing of the United Nations charter on 26 June 1945, when the primary objective of maintaining peace and justice gave way to the secondary scheme of a very peculiar international security by creating the Security Council with a

peculiar voting system. By the right to veto within the Security Council, two types of countries were established: Those which can make use of armed force without risking demands or sanctions, and those which are punished with these attitudes--from moral to coercive--even though their actions are justified in terms of legitimate defense.

The justification for such a system has as its basis the odd idea that the United States--aware of its capabilities and power--is more inclined to self-restraint in the use of force, and it will only resort to force when there is no other alternative. This structure basically establishes that the nations which have a veto right use force, and this appears legitimate and just. Thus for the great powers, without hiding anything, the UN system does not have the goal of avoiding war and promoting peace and justice, but its security is viewed in political terms as a struggle to maintain and expand its control over the planet.

[Question] Simon Bolivar, the liberator, stated that "the United States seemed destined by divine providence to plant misery in Latin America in the name of liberty." Placing this thinking in present circumstances, what is your view?

[Answer] Bolivar was a great visionary and one of the most illustrious statesmen in America. His doctrine is the inspiration of our leaders. Circumstances show that he was right when he said that the United States seemed destined to plant misery in Latin America in the name of freedom.

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END